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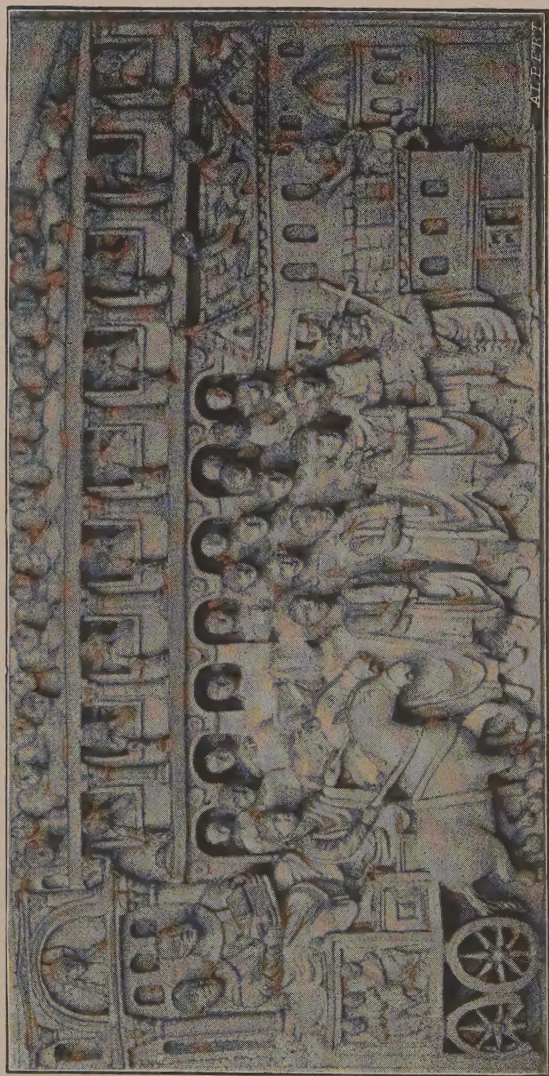
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THE IVORY TABLET IN THE CATHEDRAL OF TREVES.

(The band worn by the two bishops in the chariot is probably the oldest representation of the Pallium in Christian art; *see p. 94.*)

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HISTORICAL PAPERS

EDITED BY
THE REV. JOHN MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A.



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PREFACE.

THE Papers that compose this little volume have been furnished by their writers at my request, and as I now unite them together and issue them with the imprint of the "Catholic Truth Society," an opportunity is afforded me, of which I gladly avail myself, not only of thanking the various writers for their kind co-operation, but also of expressing my sense of the substantial value of the Papers thus contributed. There is freshness at all events in some of the subjects, and in the treatment of them all. Much careful investigation and study of history the practised eye will discern throughout, and I venture to say that the volume deserves, after careful perusal, a place of honour on the reader's bookshelf.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

31, *Farm Street, London, W.*

Oct. 22, 1892.

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The Spanish Inquisition.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

"THE Spanish Inquisition" is still an effective cry whenever it is wished to arouse prejudice against the Catholic Church and her children. It is true the cry is not quite as effective now as it was a few decades ago. There has been of late days much more fusion between Catholics and others in the various walks of life, and our fellow-countrymen have come to know us well, both our clergy and our laity, and have been able to judge for themselves what manner of men we are. They do not find us to be of harsher temperament than themselves, less fond of liberty, or less respectful of the due rights of others. And so when reminded of the Inquisition, although perhaps accepting the popular account of its cruelties as unquestionable fact, they prefer to treat the past as history and judge of the present by the present.

It is consoling to mark this increasing disposition to give us credit for what we are. There is certainly no desire anywhere among us to have renewed the harsh methods and punishments of the Spanish Inquisition. But we will go further and claim that the Spanish Inquisition itself was never the horrible thing it is represented in Protestant literature as having been. Let the reader understand exactly the position we take up. We are far from inviting a judgment of acquittal on all its proceedings. We maintain only that the bad name it has acquired in popular estimation is due largely to the gross exaggerations of those who have written against it in an adverse sense, and to the neglect to view it in relation with the notions and methods everywhere current in the days of its existence.

What then are the charges against this tribunal? They may be summarized as follows. It treated beliefs contrary to the established creed, even though conscientious, as crimes of the first magnitude. It punished offenders with the most cruel punishment of fire, and went so far in its inhumanity as to

make their dying agonies a religious spectacle for the entertainment of "the faithful," the very Kings, surrounded by brilliant Courts, presiding over the *autos da fé*¹ ("acts of faith") at which the condemned were delivered to the flames. In the excess of its thirst for heretical blood it did not hesitate to sacrifice whole hecatombs in this way: and in order that the number of victims might not run short, it instituted a grossly unfair judicial procedure whereby the accused person had hardly a chance of rebutting the charges against him. The names of his accusers, often his personal enemies, were concealed from his knowledge, and the services of a skilled advocate whom he could trust to act in his interests were denied him. On the other hand, he was submitted to repeated tortures in loathsome cells, until, unable longer to endure the agony, he was driven to disregard future consequences and seek present relief by a confession of guilt, truthful or feigned. Lastly, to intensify the terror of the tribunal throughout the country, arrests were made with the utmost secrecy, and by secret officials, called "familiars" of the court. These mysterious beings would lie in wait for their victim at some unobserved spot, or they would enter his house stealthily under the cover of the darkness, and carry him from his very bed to their underground dungeons. When the family rose in the morning one cherished member was missing. Wife or children might suspect what had happened, but there was no remedy. Probably they would never see him again except once, and then tied to the burning faggot at some future *auto da fé*. It was hardly safe even to mention his name, still less to express regret at his fate. Nor was this all. Should he be convicted, as he was morally certain to be, all his goods would be confiscated, and the family that had been dependent upon him for its maintenance, would be reduced to poverty, as well as branded with perpetual disgrace and suspicion.

Here certainly is a terrible indictment. Well may the people of England shudder at the bare thought of such a system introduced into their free and happy country. But now what are the facts?

It cannot be denied that the doctrine of intolerance was recognized in those days. It was certainly held to be the

¹ The Spanish phrase is *auto de fé*. *Auto da fé* is Portuguese, from which nation therefore we must have originally obtained the word.

duty both of the Church and of the State to treat heresy to the Catholic faith as a crime commensurate with treason, and to adopt stringent measures against its propagation. This was a doctrine unquestioned in those days among all parties. Protestants and Catholics alike, in the countries where they had the upper hand, proscribed and punished their opponents. It did not occur to either side that any other course was rational. Surely, they would have said, truth and error are not on equal terms. Truth has rights: it demands to be upheld and promoted. Error has no rights: and is to be repressed and destroyed.

Our Protestant readers will here urge, that although this is true, yet there is this difference between Protestantism and Catholicism, that, whilst the former now recognizes the sacred rights of religious liberty, the latter continues to be as intolerant as ever, and is always itching to persecute. In a certain sense no doubt it is true that Catholics are still and always will be intolerant of error, for their religion is founded on the conviction that God's revelation is not a mere matter of subjective persuasion, but an external fact attested by certain and convincing proofs. No sane person would claim that virtue and vice ought to have equal toleration in the community, and the attitude of manifest truth to manifest error does not differ, in the abstract, in this respect from the attitude of manifest virtue to manifest vice. If Protestants are, in the abstract, advocates of universal toleration, this is because they do not believe in any objective certainty of religious truth. Creed, for them, is matter of opinion, not of certain knowledge.

But although the two parties are necessarily divided *in theory*, when we compare the same two parties *in their practice*, the balance of intolerance, at least in the present day, and indeed in the past also, would seem to be on the side of Protestants: not indeed of Protestants generally, but of that class of Protestants—Exeter Hall Protestants as they used to be called—who are so fond of flinging the Inquisition in our faces. In old days each party assumed that its opponents were not only in error, but in conscious error. Persecution was supposed and expected to have the effect of making them follow their consciences, not resist them. Nowadays we have come to realize more clearly how differently minds are constituted and how possible it is, in the medley of opposing

creeds, not to perceive which out of them all is the truth. This realization is general, and is certainly strongly felt by Catholics, who are also moved by other similar considerations to feel a great dislike for all attempts to coerce religious beliefs. The realization seems to be less marked among Protestants of the class just indicated. Consider, for instance, how often when a man becomes convinced of the duty to turn Catholic, Protestant relations and others have no scruples at all in opposing temporal obstacles of the severest kind in his way. And with this contrast the very great reluctance shown by Catholic priests to receive converts into the Church until they have been well instructed and thoroughly realize what they are about.

These remarks have seemed to be necessary in order to remove a prejudice which might otherwise interfere with a fair hearing of the considerations we have to offer in defence, or rather in extenuation, of the Inquisition. It ought now to be clear that the intolerance shown by this tribunal involves no reflexion on the Catholic Church. Viewed historically, it was intolerance accepted by the age as an obvious duty and accepted by Protestants and Catholics alike. Viewed as a basis of anticipation concerning the future, it cannot be considered to forebode any likelihood of future similar "persecution" of Protestants by Catholics, should the latter, which does not seem likely, return once more to power.

We shall have to confine our attention to the Spanish Inquisition established in the fifteenth century. The Inquisition itself originated as far back as the twelfth century in Southern France, but nowhere and at no time did these Inquisitorial courts indulge in the multitudinous capital convictions chargeable to the later Inquisition in Spain. It is this Spanish Inquisition which has occasioned the popular outcry against the institution, although most Protestants imagine that it was quite as bad in the other Catholic countries. The Roman Inquisition is still existent. As it does not fall within the scope of our subject-matter we must be content to say that all along it was noted for its comparative mildness, and that at the present day its work is to examine and condemn books and propositions at variance with the Catholic faith.

The Jews had in ancient days been far more numerous

and influential in Spain than in any other country, and were even credited with a policy of Judaizing the entire Peninsula. They were accordingly much disliked by the Christian populations, who sought to protect themselves by frequent and stringent repressive laws, ecclesiastical and civil, directed against the enemy. It may be mentioned here incidentally that the Popes, such as Alexander II., the friend of Hildebrand, and Honorius III., are found several times interposing and protesting against the cruel treatment to which the Jews became thus subjected. The race, however, evinced its well-known vitality, and in the fourteenth century had acquired important privileges for the preservation of the status of its members, as well as their admission into some of the primary offices of the Government. The results of the persecution through which they had lived had been, on the other hand, most pernicious in producing a class of Jews who were such at heart, although by open profession they had become Christians. These were in league with the open adherents of their national creed, and were the more dangerous because their machinations against the Catholic religion were carried on in the dark. The extent of the evil may be realized somewhat when it is said that not a few of these secret Jews had risen to high ecclesiastical dignities, some even to bishoprics. These and the like advantages of position, obtained by intermarriage with noble families and the possession of great wealth, they were unquestionably using, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, with the determined policy of erecting Judaism on the ruins of Spanish Catholicity and nationality. Here was a very serious danger for the rulers of the country to take into consideration, and they had the clamorous demands of their terrified Christian subjects to urge them on to action. The crisis came when Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile were the reigning monarchs. They met it by establishing the "Spanish Inquisition." It is called by this special name because of its distinctive character. But the older Inquisition had existed in Spain, and had still a staff of officials in the Kingdom of Aragon, not, however, in Castile; although Castile, much more than Aragon, was to be the home of the renewed Inquisition now about to commence its harsh career.

In 1478 (or possibly in 1480) the Sovereigns obtained a

Bull from Sixtus IV. to establish a tribunal for searching out heretics. In virtue of its authorization, the tribunal was erected at Seville for the entire Kingdom of Castile, and two Dominicans, Miguel Morillo and Juan Martin, were by royal appointment placed over it as royal inquisitors. After a preliminary season allowed for efforts to gain back the heretics by preaching and persuasion, the work of the tribunal commenced in 1481. It began then, as it invariably began its sessions in any part of the country, by proclaiming a period of grace of sixty or more days, a period often prolonged. All who came forward during such periods and confessed their heresy, even if it were relapse, were reconciled without incurring any severe penance. It is important, now that we have to consider its doings, to remember that the Inquisition never proceeded against the unconverted Jews, but only against those who after having received Baptism had relapsed, openly or secretly, into Judaism. Such persons were called *Maranos*. In 1483, the famous Torquemada, Prior of the Dominican convent of Segovia, was appointed Grand Inquisitor over the whole of Castile, and shortly after the single court at Seville was supplemented by three others at Cordova, Juan, and Villa-Real (afterwards changed to Toledo). Torquemada held office till 1498, when he was succeeded by Diego de Deza, who in turn gave place to the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenez in 1507.

About twenty years later, the Inquisition, continuing to be employed against the *Maranos*, found another sphere for its activity in the *Moriscos* of Granada. In 1480 war broke out between the Spanish monarchs and the Moors, who having been at one time the dominating race throughout nearly the whole of Spain, still maintained possession of the Kingdom of Granada in the south-east of the Peninsula. The Spaniards conquered after a war of ten years' continuance, the Moors receiving for the time very favourable conditions, which among other things included freedom to retain their national worship. The conquerors did not, however, understand these terms to prevent them from sending Catholic missionaries to preach to their new subjects, and encouraging conversions by the offer of temporal advantages. We are not maintaining that this was a judicious measure. Indeed, experience proved that it was not, that it led to conversions

which were far from solid in their character. The immediate effect of the conversions obtained was to excite the anger of the unconverted Moors, who began to persecute the Moriscos, as the converted Moors were called. Eventually the unconverted rebelled, but they were subdued, and then were offered the alternative of either suffering the penalties of treason which they had incurred, or obtaining pardon by passing over to the Christian religion and receiving Baptism. One can understand how this offer could be well-intentioned if only we bear in mind what has been indicated already, that the Spaniards were persuaded that the Moors in resisting the light of Christianity when set before them were resisting the dictates of their consciences. The measure was productive of its natural results, natural as *we* perceive them to be. Many conversions followed, of a more or less imperfectly sincere kind, and afterwards there were continual attempts to apostatize. In fact, the very same difficulty emerged with regard to the Moors and Moriscos, which had been felt over the Jews and Maranos; or rather a worse difficulty, because the two now became fused into one, by the secret sympathy and combined efforts of the two races involved in the same trouble. Hence the application of the Inquisition to the Moriscos (not the Moors) to retain them in the Christian faith. Hefele, however, tells us that it was never employed so extensively or with such severity against the Moriscos as against the Maranos. In 1524 these Moriscos, addressing the newly-appointed Grand Inquisitor, Manriquez, say: "We have always been treated justly by your predecessors, and properly protected by them." Clement VIII. forbade the confiscation of their property, or the infliction of capital punishment upon them for apostacy. We may call the campaign of the Inquisition against the Maranos and Moriscos the first stage in its history. It lasted till the middle of the reign of Charles V.

The second stage of importance began some fifty years later during the reign of Philip II. At this time there was an attempt to introduce Protestantism into Spain, which was resolutely resisted by the Spanish monarchs with the aid of the Inquisition, and Philip, on this account, is wont to be specially identified by Protestants with the cruelties of the tribunal, although they appear to have been less marked in his reign than in the earlier reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

This second period lasted till the accession of the Bourbons, when the danger from Protestantism was held to have passed by. From that time onwards the activity of the tribunal was much diminished, and was confined, says Balmez, to the repression of infamous crimes and the exclusion of the philosophy of Voltaire. By the end of the eighteenth century the Inquisition was a shadow of its former self, and it was abolished at the commencement of the present century, first by the Bonapartist King Joseph, in 1808, and again, after a short resuscitation on the return of the Bourbons, finally in 1830.

We can now deal with the charges of cruelty against the Inquisition. These are due largely to the wealth of imagination which seems to characterize anti-Catholic polemical writers. They have, however, a basis which might seem trustworthy in a book on the Inquisition written near the beginning of this century by one Antonio Llorente. Llorente was a Spanish priest, who, although probably a Freemason, had from 1789 to 1793, been Secretary-General to the Inquisition at Madrid. When Joseph Bonaparte was placed by his brother on the throne of Spain, and the Spanish people rose with patriotic ardour against the usurpation, Llorente joined the small body of anti-patriots called *Afrancesados*. This is noteworthy, as it reveals the character of the man. On the fall of Joseph he was naturally banished from Spain and took up his residence in Paris. There he wrote his *History of the Inquisition*, with the aid of the official documents he had pillaged from its archives at Madrid whilst he was enjoying the favour of King Joseph. The book is complete in its way; that is to say, it narrates the history of the tribunal from its commencement to its abolition, and gives detailed accounts of the more famous historical processes and *autos da fé*. It is apparent, however, on the surface, how the author exaggerates everything that tells against the Inquisition, and misconstrues all that is in its favour, particularly any action taken in regard to it by the Popes; and one has strong suspicions that he must be omitting altogether a great deal which would materially reduce his indictment. But there is one thing full of significance about this writer. He tells us himself, in his work, "I burnt with his (King Joseph's) approbation all the criminal processes, save those which belong to history by their import-

ance or celebrity, or by the quality of the person, as that of Caranza, and of Macanez, and a few others. But I preserved intact the register of resolutions of Council, royal ordinances, bulls and briefs from Rome, and all genealogies," &c.¹ For such conduct there can be no excuse. As Balmez reasonably demands, "Was there no place to be found in Madrid to place them (the proceedings and documents), where they could be examined by those who, after Llorente, might wish to write the history of the Inquisition from the original documents!" In consequence of this prudent act of barbarism, we are constrained to base our examination of the tribunal almost entirely on the testimony of this biassed witness. Still, even under these disadvantages, we have the means of rectifying the current Protestant notions. We will now consider one by one the charges against the tribunal enumerated above, not, however, necessarily taking them in the order there given.

As to the number of the victims, Llorente gives the following statistics: In the year 1481, 2,000 burnt and 17,000 penanced; in 1482, 88 burnt and 625 penanced; in 1483, 688 burnt and 5,727 penanced; from 1484 to 1498 (that is, under Torquemada), 6,024 burnt and 66,654 penanced; from Torquemada to the suppression of the tribunal, 23,112 burnt and 201,244 penanced. On Llorente's authority these alarming numbers are invariably adopted by anti-Inquisition writers, whose readers naturally assume that Llorente took them from the official records in his possession. In fact, however, they are mere inferences of a very unreasonable kind from three very slight statements of ancient writers, one of whom he grossly misunderstands. Mariana, as misread by Llorente, is supposed to say that in 1481, the year when the Inquisition commenced its proceedings, 2,000 persons were burnt at the stake, and 17,000 others penanced at Seville alone. Another writer, Bernaldez, is made to say that, also at Seville, from 1482 to 1489 (in reality, he says, from 1481 to 1488), over 700 were burnt and 5,000 penanced. And an inscription on the Quemadero (the platform where the condemned were burnt), at Seville, records that from 1492 to 1524 nearly 1,000 were there burnt, and 20,000 abjured their heresy.

Taking Mariana's supposed statement as it stands, for the year 1481, Llorente calculates from Bernaldez an annual

¹ iv. 145.

average for the years 1482—1489, and from the Quemadero inscription for the entire remainder of the Inquisition's duration, making, that is to say, gradual reductions at intervals to allow for the known growth of leniency as time ran on. These figures by themselves refer only to the one court at Seville. To obtain figures for the other courts, added in course of time, he multiplies those for Seville, after having with a show of generosity, first halved them. Can anything be more untrustworthy than such a computation, assuming, as it does, that the multiplication of tribunals within the same area of jurisdiction involves a corresponding multiplication of condemned persons, and that the number of condemnations has preserved a calculable average through centuries? Nor is this the only vice. Mariana does not say 2,000 were burnt at Seville in 1481. If he did, he would contradict Bernaldez, since, as we have noticed, Bernaldez includes 1481 in his eight years. Mariana (1592) is in agreement with Pulgar, an earlier writer, (1545), who tells us that these 2,000 were burnt during Torquemada's entire time (1484—1498), and that, not in Seville only, but in the various places to which his activity extended.

Mr. Legge, a non-Catholic writer in the *Scottish Review* (April, 1891), has adjusted Llorente's calculations to this rectified reading of Mariana, and his figures may be set down with advantage for comparison with those just given. In 1481, 298 burnt and 5,960 penanced; in 1482, 88 burnt and 625 penanced; in 1483, 142 burnt and 2,840 penanced; from 1484 to 1498, 2,000 burnt and 40,000 penanced. That is, from 1481 to 1498, 2,528 burnt and 49,425 penanced against Llorente's 8,800 burnt and 90,006 penanced. From 1498 onwards, having no means at hand of testing them, Mr. Legge gives a sceptical adhesion to Llorente's figures. Still, even Mr. Legge, through not advertng to Llorente's mistake of a year in his citation of the passage in Bernaldez, has not reduced these initial facts to their true proportion. The year 1481, according to Llorente's system, being the inaugural year of the Inquisition, must claim to itself a very large proportion of the 700 which Bernaldez assigns to the period (1481—8). This would reduce the annual average for the years following from Llorente's (and Mr. Legge's) 88 to about 40, and would involve a consequent reduction in the annual average for subsequent years at Seville and elsewhere.

We have, however, to bear in mind that inferences like these, deducing the criminal statistics of many districts and many centuries from one to two slight data appertaining to a place and time of exceptional severity, are most hazardous. To what extent this is true, will be the better felt if we make a similar inference from a few chance criminal statistics referring to our own country. Hamilton's *History of Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne*,¹ gives us the gaol returns at Exeter for 1598. In this year the total result of the two assizes and four quarter sessions was the hanging of 74 persons, many for crimes no greater than sheep-stealing. Starting from these facts Sir James Stephen² gathers that, "if the average number of executions in each county were 20, or a little more than a quarter of the number of capital sentences in Devonshire in 1598, this would make 800 executions a year in the 40 English counties." That is 11,200 in 14 years against Torquemada's 2,000 (or 6,024), in the same period, and some reduction on 264,000 executions in a period of 330 years, the duration of the Inquisition in Spain, against Llorente's 23,112 burnt and 201,244 penanced by this tribunal within that time.

Mr. Legge provides, in the article referred to, another instance very much in point, since it deals with an offence kindred to heresy. He cites Mr. Mackay's *Curious Superstitions*,³ for a computation that in Scotland from the passing of the Act against witches under Queen Mary, an Act due not of course to her helplessness but to the imperious harshness of John Knox—from this date to the accession of the King James I. 17,000 witches were burnt in Scotland, whilst in England 40,000 supposed witches perished in this way between 1600 and 1680, 3,000 during the Long Parliament which undertook its struggle with the Crown in the cause of civil and religious liberty. It would not do to place too much trust in these numbers. Mr. Mackay is a popular writer, not a historian, and sets down without criticism the figures he finds in ancient authors. It does not seem to occur to him that such authors are merely making wild guesses and in no sense relying on accurate statistics. However, we only require one illustration of wild statistics to set against another. Mr. Legge remarks upon these data that, "even supposing the figures are, as one would fain hope, grossly exaggerated,

¹ P. 31. ² *History of the English Criminal Law*, i. 467. ³ i. 237.

it would appear that the whole number of Inquisition victims would hardly have afforded the witch-hunters of our own land sport for 50 years." Even when we go further and distrust altogether these inferential statistics, whether in Spain, England, or elsewhere, there seems little doubt that the judicial waste of life in England surpassed that in Spain. Witchcraft, it must be remembered, was an offence which in Spain came under the cognizance of the Inquisition, as did many other offences, partaking to a greater or less degree of a religious character, which did not amount to heresy.

The next charge we have to deal with is the mode of execution employed by the Inquisition. The punishment of fire seems to us cruel and revolting. We moderns cannot tolerate the idea of its infliction on any class of offenders. But this was not the feeling of our ancestors, who were undoubtedly, and regrettably, far sterner and harsher than their descendants, yet are not on that account to be condemned *en masse* as a generation of savages. There is plenty of proof that they had tender hearts like our own. The truth is that human nature is so one-sided. We moderns fix our attention on the acuteness of human pain, and perhaps forget somewhat the gravity of crime. The ancients realized less the throbbings of pain in the criminal's body, as indeed they were less impatient of it in their own, but they realized more the outrage of his guilt, and aimed by their severities at preventing its recurrence. Moreover, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Inquisition alone is responsible for execution by fire. Witches were punished at the stake in England, Germany, &c., and it was not only to ecclesiastical offences that this mode of death was allotted. It was also the English punishment for high treason, in the case of a woman, or if she murdered her husband. In the Carolina, a code drawn up by the Emperor Charles V. in 1532, and considered to be an innovation in the direction of greater leniency towards criminals, it is the punishment for circulating base coin and other offences. In France, too, it was in use for certain civil crimes, among others for poisoning. We have also to remember that ancient justice knew of harsher modes of death even than the stake. On the continent there was the revolting punishment of the wheel, to which the body of the criminal was tied with tight cords, and where, his bones having been broken by severe

blows, he was left to linger in his agonies for hours or days, as the case might be, till death came to release him. This was quite a common punishment for simple murder in France till the time of the Revolution. It was in use in Protestant Prussia as late as 1841. Nor has England any cause to boast of her greater mildness. The punishment for high treason was, to be drawn on the hurdle from the prison to the gallows, to be hanged for a while, to be cut down while still living, to undergo a shocking mutilation, and to have the bowels torn out and burnt before the victim's face. His heart was then pulled out and cast into the fire, his body quartered and beheaded, and the parts exposed in five different places to be the food of the birds. In the time of Henry VIII. an Act was passed decreeing that poisoning should be accounted high treason, and punished by boiling to death. And the Chronicler of the Grey Friars writes: "This year (1531), was a cook boiled in a cauldron in Smithfield, for he would have poisoned the Bishop of Rochester, Fisher, with divers of his servants, and he was locked in a chain, and pulled up and down with a gibbet at divers times till he was dead." From Wriothesley's Chronicle we further learn that this punishment was not deemed unsuitable for a woman. "This yeare (1532), the 17th of March, was boyled in Smithfeild one Margret Davie, a mayden, which had poysoned 3 householdes," &c. In the Low Countries on the establishment of Protestant ascendancy it was decreed that Balthassar Gerard, the assassin of William the Silent, should have "his right hand burnt off with a red-hot iron, his flesh torn from his bones with pincers in six different places, that he should be quartered and disembowelled alive, that his heart should be torn from his bosom and flung in his face, and finally that his head should be cut off."¹

If the Inquisition is to be condemned so severely for not emancipating itself from the ideas of its age in the matter of harsh punishments, at least it should receive credit for not having resorted to these refinements of cruelty which were abounding everywhere around it. It was not even primarily responsible for the selection of the fire, as its peculiar mode of execution. The assignment of this punishment to heresy was the State's, not the Church's, choice. The Church handed the heretic over to the secular arm to be punished

¹ Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, iii. 612.

according to the law of the land. Protestant writers sneer at this distinction, but it is real. The Inquisitors might perhaps have scented heresy in the civil authorities, had they neglected to punish the condemned heretics, and of course they knew what the legal civil punishment was. But there is no ground for supposing they would have opposed themselves violently to any general scheme for the mitigation of the mode of punishment.

We must bear in mind also another fact if we are to estimate the large number sent to the stake at their right value as an index of the disposition, cruel or temperate, of the Inquisitors. Great efforts up to the last moment were always made to induce the condemned to acknowledge his errors and recant. Llorente himself, in the statistics he gives of several *autos da fé*, shows that the proportion of those who recanted to those who persisted in their heresy was large. When the recantation came after relapse it did not usually procure remission of the death-sentence, but it always procured a material alleviation of its severity. The condemned were in that case first strangled, and not till life was extinct were the bodies committed to the flames.

But, it will be said, how vain to seek to exculpate the Inquisition from the charge of savagery, when the *autos da fé* at which the victims perished at the stake in vast numbers at a time were treated as religious spectacles, appropriate for days of festal gathering, presided over by ecclesiastics, and sanctioned by the presence of the King in full state.

This is doubtless the popular impression of an *auto da fé*, but it is quite erroneous. There was no stake at the *auto* itself. These assemblages were unquestionably of a religious nature, and were conducted by the Inquisitors. Their purpose, however, was primarily not to punish, but to reconcile. Those who, having erred from the faith, had been induced to return to it, made their public recantation, or *auto da fé* ("act of faith"), and having a penance assigned to them, harsh doubtless according to our ideas, but still not that of death, were solemnly absolved and reconciled to the Church. It was in view of this that Mass was sung and sermons preached. The "relaxed" were those who, though at the *auto*, could not be induced to join in it. They were, therefore, after the judgment, not the sentence had been pronounced over them, "relaxed,"

that is, delivered over to the civil power for sentence and punishment under its arm. The proportion of the "relaxed" to the "penanced" was at all times comparatively small, often very small indeed. Llorente¹ mentions the five *autos* held at Toledo, in 1486, as illustrations of the enormous number of victims, 3,300 in all. Yet out of this large number only 27 were relaxed, and perhaps if he had carried his classification a step further we should have found that a dozen at the most were burnt *alive*. At the two famous *autos* at Valladolid, in 1559, famous because the chief of those which dealt with the Lutherans, out of 71 victims, 26 were relaxed (apparently an unusually large proportion), but 2 only of these were burnt alive. At a public *auto* at Seville, May 29, 1648, we learn from the published *Relacion*, that out of 52 condemned only 1 was relaxed in person, and he, recanting, was garrotted before he was burnt. At the three *autos* at Seville, in 1721, the *Relaciones* give, out of 130 condemned, 27 relaxed and 5 burnt alive. The "relaxation," or deliverance into the hands of the civil officials, accomplished, the latter led away their prisoners either at once, or, more usually, after a day or more's detention in the civil prisons, to the place of public execution. Here the ecclesiastics had no place. They could have no place (except of course that of confessors to the condemned, which is not in question); for to participate in the infliction of capital punishment would have caused them to incur the canonical punishment called "irregularity," which prohibited from performing the functions of the sacred ministry. At these public executions, the King may at times have been present in person, as Philip II. was in 1559. But the *Relacion* of the above-mentioned *auto* at Seville (May 29, 1648) happens to mention the nature of the usual attendance, "Innumerable boys, the troublesome attendants of such criminals, followed the *cortège* to the Quemadero." There had assembled "a numerous multitude on foot, on horse, and in coaches, attracted by the novelty of the spectacle." This reminds us of the assemblages at public executions at Newgate, only that it seems to have been more respectable, and, one would hope, was more deeply sensible of the solemnity of an act of public justice.

Another item in the punishment of the condemned to which exception has been taken, was the confiscation of their

¹ i. 238.

goods, an aggravation of the acutest kind to the sufferer, who thus saw those whom he loved best involved in ruin on his account, and a gross injustice to them as the crime was certainly not theirs. To this we may reply that whether confiscation of goods, in view of its effect on the innocent offspring, is an improper punishment to inflict or not, is a question worthy of discussion, and modern opinion appears to solve it in the negative. The practice was, however, universal in former days (there are even some relics of it in the existing laws of England) in the case of treason and felony, crimes with which heresy was considered to be equivalent, and it does not appear why the Inquisition should be chargeable with its adherence to the accepted methods in this particular any more than in that of death by burning. It should, however, in fairness be borne in mind, that the time of grace always allowed and generally extended before the Inquisition began to hold its sessions, in a neighbourhood, was specially designed to enable the suspected to avoid confiscation as well as other punishments by timely submission; also that the sovereigns were wont to restore some portion to the widows and orphans if innocent; that the property of the Moriscos was declared not liable to this confiscation, but passed on to the heirs; and finally that the Holy See in its frequent interpositions to secure greater leniency was particularly insistent in protecting the children of the condemned heretics, and thereby became implicated in many disputes with the Spanish sovereigns, who complained of the consequent loss to the royal exchequer.

We have next to consider the charges against the procedure of the Tribunal: so unfair to the accused, who was not allowed to have the name of his accusers or even the exact text of their accusation against him. The fact is, that the facilities for preparing his defence allowed by the Inquisition to the accused, contrast favourably with those allowed in the contemporary civil courts of our own country as well as of the rest of Europe. It has been urged as so hard that the text of the accusation should be altered before being submitted to the accused, and that his accusers should not be confronted with him. The names of the accusers were not given, in order that their identity might be concealed, but the text was only altered in unessentials so far as was

necessary to preserve this concealment. On the other hand, in England and elsewhere not the names of the accusers only, but the charges made by them, were concealed from the prisoner's knowledge up to the time of his appearance in court, so that it was quite impossible for him to prepare a carefully thought-out defence. Nor was the English prisoner allowed an advocate at all in criminal cases, whereas the prisoner of the Inquisition was allowed and given one. It is true such an advocate had to be of the number of those in the service of the Inquisition, or at all events must take its oath of secrecy. This also was a necessity to preserve the secrecy about the accusers. But he was under oath to do his best to set forth any truthful defence the accused might have. In the English trials, again, the accused was not allowed to bring forward witnesses on his behalf, whereas in the Inquisition he was, and could even require them to be summoned from the most remote regions. Possibly some readers will be astonished that such unfairness should be imputed to the English system, but that it was so may be read in Sir James Stephen's work already referred to.¹ The notion current in those times was that either the accuser proved his case against the accused, or he failed to prove it. If the latter, a verdict of acquittal was already due and rendered witnesses for the accused unnecessary; if the former, any witness in the contrary sense must either be irrelevant or perjured. That the truth could emerge out of the conflict of opposing testimonies thoroughly sifted, did not enter into the minds of the English and other civil jurists. It was the merit of the Inquisition to have grasped in no small degree the rational principles now realized.

But why should the names of the accusers have been concealed? Could there be any ground for veiling these trials in secrecy save to press unfairly on the poor victims? There is a great prejudice in our times against secret trials as pressing unfairly on the accused, but we have occasional reminders that an open trial may also have its disadvantages. To pass over the question of the injury often done to the reputation of third parties, it has occasionally been forced on public attention that crimes cannot be put down, because witnesses know that by giving evidence they expose themselves to great

¹ p. 350.

risks, the accused having powerful friends to execute vengeance in their behalf. This was exactly the case with the Inquisition. We have already described the state of affairs in Spain which first caused it to be set in motion. The Maranos and the Moriscos had great power through their wealth, position, and secret bonds of alliance with the unconverted Jews and Moors. These would certainly have endeavoured to neutralize the efforts of the Holy Office had the trials been open. Torquemada, in his Statutes of 1484, gives expressly this defence of secrecy: "It has become notorious that great damage and danger would accrue to the property and person of the witnesses, by the publication of their names, as experience has shown, and still shows, that several of them have been killed, wounded, or maltreated by heretics." The truth about secret trials seems to be that they impose a much greater responsibility on the judges. If a judge is unfair, as we know from history judges have often been, publicity is a valuable check upon them. But as long as the judge is impartial, it is quite possible to work a secret trial in such a manner as to reach a just conclusion, particularly when the court has the power to "inquire," that is, seek out evidence, and is not tied to the mere evidence set before it by others. In the case of inquiries about heresy, there was also this to diminish the otherwise greater difficulties of the secret procedure. Past heresy was of comparatively small account if there was undoubted present orthodoxy, and on this point evidence of a conclusive kind could be furnished on the spot by the accused person if only he chose to furnish it. Provision was of course made by the Inquisition to obviate the chances of unjust accusations and to give the accused every reasonable chance of setting forth his defence. They are provisions obviously dictated by the desire to be impartial and even clement, as well as efficacious. It would take too much space to give them here, but they can be seen in Hefele or more fully in Llorente himself, who, if we separate his facts from his insinuations, is a valuable apologist of the institution he attacks. In the present connexion there is one thing in his pages worthy of special note. In the accounts of many famous processes which he gives, you cannot help feeling that the court invariably succeeds in arriving at the true decision. Llorente's charge against it is in each case too

patently, not that it convicted of heresy those who were not heretics, but that it did not give real heretics sufficient chances of slipping through their hands. It is absurd and illogical to mix up charges. Whether heresy is a crime or not, is one point; whether the law is bound to afford guilty persons facilities for escaping justice is another. On the former we have already offered some remarks; as to the latter, one would imagine no remarks were needed.

The next charge against the Inquisition is its use of torture. We are all agreed that the practice is cruel and happily obsolete. But again, why is the Inquisition to be more blameworthy than other European courts of the period? Torture was everywhere in use whilst it was in use with the Inquisition, and became obsolete there when it grew into disfavour elsewhere. It is indeed the boast of English lawyers that it was never a part of the English procedure, and this is true of the ordinary procedure. But it was employed in England nevertheless, under the prerogative of the Crown, particularly during the Tudor and early Stuart period. "Under Henry VIII. it appears to have been in frequent use. Only two cases occurred under Edward VI., and eight under Mary. The reign of Elizabeth was its culminating point. In the words of Hallam, 'The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.'"¹ And we may add incidentally that while Edward and Mary do not appear to have employed it in cases of heresy, Elizabeth employed it ordinarily and ruthlessly against the Catholics. If, too, in England torture was not employed under the ordinary procedure, Sir James Stephen tells us² this was merely because the ordinary procedure had slight scruples about convicting on very insufficient evidence. Torture was employed by the Inquisition, as by other courts, in order to extract evidence which could not be otherwise verified, and so obtain the certainty, if it existed, without which no conviction was possible. In short, if we are to compare the Inquisition with other contemporary courts whether in Spain or England or elsewhere, in regard to the employment of torture, the result must be to award the Inquisition the palm of greater mercy. It limited largely the number of those who could inflict it, permitted its infliction only when the evidence against the prisoner amounted already to a *semi-*

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* s.v. "Torture."

² *Op. cit.* i. 222.

plena probatio (i.e. nearly complete proof), permitted it only once in each case, and required the presence of the inquisitor and the ordinary, not, as is popularly thought, to gloat over the agonies of the sufferer, but to see that the experiment was conducted with as much mercy and mildness as was possible under the conditions. These precautions do not seem to have existed in the same degree in England.

In like manner the charge of inhumanity against the dungeons of the Inquisition needs only to be dealt with by the comparative method in order to melt away. Is the story told, only a century ago, by John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, as to the state of English and continental prisons so completely forgotten? Doubtless the prison cells of the past were in flagrant opposition to the dictates of humanity, and one can only marvel that they could last so long without encountering the protests of the merciful. The Inquisition was naturally governed in this respect also by contemporary methods, though analogy would lead us to surmise that here too it was to some extent in advance of its age. One thing at least we may hope, that it had no dungeon like that into which, under Elizabeth, Father Sherwood was put in the Tower of London. This we learn from Jardine, "was a cell below high-water mark and totally dark; and, as the tide flowed, innumerable rats which infested the muddy banks of the Thames were driven through the crevices of the walls into the dungeons."¹ Alarm was the least part of the torture to the terrified inmates. At times flesh was torn from the arms and legs of the prisoners during sleep by these rats. And this was after a century of enlightenment had separated a new age from that of Torquemada. We have Llorente's unimpeachable testimony for the improvement that had set in by the commencement of the present century. At that time he tells us the cells were "good vaulted chambers well lighted and dry," and "large enough for exercise." Nor were chains in use, unless perhaps in an isolated case to prevent suicide.² As much could not have been said of the generality of English prisons at that date.

The last charge relates to the manner of the arrests. That the Inquisition established an all-embracing system of *espionnage* through the agency of secret officials called "familiars" is an important feature in the Protestant conception of its methods.

¹ Cf. Jardine's *Readings on the use of Torture in England*. ² i. p. 300.

But the "familiar" were not a secret body. They were a sort of militia containing a large number, perhaps a majority, of religious-minded, influential persons. The purpose of their enrolment as such was not to spy out heresies, but to constitute an organized fund of physical force in support of the tribunal against the very considerable power of the heretics it was endeavouring to over-master. They had a large part in the conduct of the *autos da fe*, and apparently the officials, apparitors, &c., of the court were of their number. But there is no ground for thinking them to be mysterious beings with cat-like tread such as a morbid fancy has depicted them. Arrests were perhaps at times made in secrecy. This is usual and according to common sense when otherwise an arrest might be successfully impeded. But that after arrest, no news of what had happened were allowed to transpire, or a word of allusion to the occurrence to be made, is absurd. As soon as an arrest was made, an official of the court was at once sent to the prisoner's house to take an inventory of his possessions. How could this be done and the family remain in ignorance of what had happened? That all conversation about the arrests made was forbidden seems also altogether improbable, and at least requires to be established by proof, not imagination. At the best, there may be this slight ground for the notion. To manifest sympathy with the heresy, not the person, of the prisoner, would be to repeat the fault of which he was suspected, and to incur its liabilities. In all cases, when a criminal has been carried off by justice, it is prudent for his accomplices to observe reticence.

No other charge occurs to us demanding notice in a short pamphlet, but readers who desire fuller information may be referred to Hefele's excellent chapters on the subject in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenez*. All that now remains for us here is to correct the notion that the Holy See is responsible for the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition. It is disputed among authorities whether the tribunal ought not to be regarded as a royal rather than a papal court, and Bishop Hefele is strongly of this view. The inquisitors were, however, unquestionably ecclesiastics, and drew their jurisdiction from Papal Bulls. In this sense the court was certainly Papal, but the appointments were all made by the Crown, and the Crown, not the Pope, is responsible for the harshness. The Papal

power of control, though theoretically absolute, was practically small. The Popes met with constant opposition from the Spanish monarchs in all their attempts to interpose. They did, however, interpose frequently, both by protests, by threats of excommunication, by drawing to themselves appeals, and sometimes by revising largely in the sense of mercy or even altogether remitting sentences passed by the tribunal. We are dependent for our information concerning this matter on Llorente, who alone has had access to the Papal Letters. He gives us some letters of expostulation written by Sixtus IV., and these exhibit this Pope just as we should expect to find a Pope, anxious to put down heresy, and therefore granting the spiritual faculties solicited by the sovereigns for their nominees, and even exhorting them to zeal in their work; but at the same time desirous that the zeal should be tempered by mercy, and deeply incensed when he discovered that the claims of mercy were so disregarded. It is the voice of genuine compassion which speaks out in terms like these, "Since it is clemency which, as far as is possible to human nature, makes men equal to God, We ask and entreat the King and Queen by the tender mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ to imitate Him whose property it is ever to show mercy and to spare, and so to spare the citizens of Seville and its diocese," &c. Nor did Sixtus stay at words. First he appointed the Archbishop of Seville as a judge of appeal, and, when this arrangement failed of its effect, he allowed the victims to carry appeals to Rome, where already they had fled in large numbers, hopeful of obtaining, as they did obtain, either complete absolution or a large alleviation of their penance from that merciful tribunal. Surely it is a significant fact that fugitives from the harshness of the Spanish Inquisition should have thought of Rome as the best refuge to which they could flee. Succeeding Popes are stated by Llorente to have made similar endeavours to mitigate the extreme severities of the inquisitors. They were, however, invariably foiled by the Spanish sovereigns, who had the power in their hands.

Llorente tries to take the edge off these remonstrances of the Holy See by insinuating that they sprang from the base motive of cupidity; that the Popes had an eye to the fees they could extort as the price of their absolutions. But this is mere insinuation for which there is not a shadow of proof. The

action of the Popes in regard to the Inquisition is quite in keeping with the character that has always been theirs. The Popes as individuals have had their personal qualities. Some have been sterner, others milder, in their temperament and in their rule. But the Holy See has all along stood out among the thrones of Christendom conspicuous for its love of mercy and tenderness towards the erring and the suffering.

And not the Holy See only, but the clergy also, if we take them as a body. As the ministers of Jesus Christ, more entirely devoted to His service and more exclusively occupied with the study of His Life, this is what would be expected of them. And what honest historian of the past, or observer of the present, can deny that the expectation has been realized? It was the clergy, in the wild middle ages, who were the refuge of the weak and oppressed against the lawless monarchs and chieftains: it was they who originated charitable institutions under so many forms. And in our own days, they are engaged everywhere in exactly the same work. This does not mean, that the Catholic laity are backward in charitable enterprises. It means only that the clergy are wont to be the leaders in such works. Surely then it is reasonable to judge of their part in the Inquisition by these analogies, and this is all we have been contending for. The Inquisition belonged to an age which was far harsher in dealing with crime than our own, and the clergy are always, necessarily, imbued with the ideas and feelings that are in the air they breathe. We ought not to be surprised to find that when they acted as Inquisitors, they adopted methods prevalent in their age, which to us seem harsh and revolting. But we should expect also that their judicial behaviour would in some sort reflect the tender-heartedness in all other respects demonstratively characteristic of their body. In a word, the faults which we deplore in these Inquisitors were the faults of their age, which happily has passed away. The redeeming qualities we discover in them were the virtues natural to their state. The latter survive, and we may hope, ripen, and they furnish a guarantee which should give satisfaction to terrified Protestants, that our return to power, if so unlikely a thing should be in the near future, will not bring with it any danger to their lives and liberties.

It will be convenient to sum up what has been established in a few propositions.

1. The intolerance of Catholics consists in this that they believe our Lord has made His revelation sufficiently clear for all men to recognize it if they will. Still, modern Catholics have no desire to coerce those who will not recognize it. The tolerance of Protestants consists in this that they believe every one must be left to his private judgment in a matter so obscure as the true religion. But they persecute those whose private judgment recommends them to become Catholics.

2. No one wants back the Spanish Inquisition, but although following the notions of its age, it put to death altogether a very large number of heretics, the English civil courts put to death many more for lesser crimes—like sheep-stealing.

3. Torture employed by the Inquisition in conformity with the common law of Spain, but with greater restrictions. Torture employed in England much more fiercely, in spite of the common law of England. The culminating point of its use in England was under Elizabeth, who inflicted it ruthlessly on Catholics.

4. Names of accusers for their security concealed in Spain from the accused, but the accusation given him and the assistance of an advocate. No advocates allowed in English criminal trials of former days, and accusations not shown to the accused till he came into court.

5. Inquisition dungeons probably never worse than contemporary English dungeons, and certainly much better in the latter days of its existence.

6. The victims of the Inquisition had such a belief in the humanity of the Popes that they fled to his territory and begged to have their cases judged there.

The False Decretals.

BY THE REV. RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J.

THE False Decretals supply to Protestant controversialists one of their most serviceable weapons. The fact that there exists a collected body of documents, many of them strongly asserting the claims of Rome and the Roman Pontiff, of which a large proportion are undoubted forgeries, gives a handle to the enemies of the Catholic faith of which they are not slow to avail themselves. If it were true that the modern system of Church government is built up in great measure of these untrustworthy and misleading documents, our opponents would have a strong argument in their favour. If the Popes had invented these forgeries in order to advance their claims to universal dominion (as Protestants assert that they have), then we should at least have to admit that unscrupulous audacity had at one time prevailed at Rome. If the Popes had adopted them, knowing or suspecting them to be forgeries, we should be obliged to allow that the Vicars of Christ had descended to the use of shameful means to strengthen their own power. Even if the Holy See had taken them under its protection, in ignorance of their true character, and had in all good faith availed itself of them in the development of doctrine or of practice, we should look with just suspicion on any dogma, law, custom, or usage that rested only on such a foundation, and its erasure from the statute-book, with all the consequent regulations or doctrines that had followed from it, would be a matter of immediate necessity.

Happily, the False Decretals have had no such influence on the legislation of the Catholic Church. They have introduced no dogma, no law, no custom, that did not exist previously. They were never formally recognized by any of the Popes, and it can be proved with certainty that the Holy See knew nothing of them until many years after they were compiled, much less had any sort of part in their compila-

tion. If extracts from them occur in some Papal documents, we must remember that they were inserted in perfect good faith, for the authenticity of the False Decretals was widely credited, and at last was taken for granted at Rome itself. The False Decretals were drawn up, as we shall see presently, not in Rome, but in Western France. Their compiler was no member of the Papal Court, but a provincial Bishop, or some one acting under his orders and seeking to advance his cause. Though they go by the name of "The False Decretals," yet a great portion of them are genuine documents, and those which are forgeries embody the traditional teaching of the Popes whose names are attached to them. They did not introduce even into the discipline of the Church anything that was unknown before, but simply sought to attach the weight of Papal or Conciliar authority to customs which generally prevailed, but which many questioned as lacking any sufficient sanction from the Holy See.

In order to understand the position of the False Decretals, we must ask our readers to cast a rapid glance over the ecclesiastical history of the time, and especially of the Church in Western Europe. The latter portion of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire was a time full of all sorts of miseries to the Empire of the Franks. The pious, well-meaning, but feeble Emperor lent too ready an ear to the foolish counsels of favourites. In 817 he portioned out his kingdom among his three sons, and associated the eldest, Lothaire, in the Government. But the birth of a fourth son in 823 (afterwards Charles the Bald) led to a fresh partition of the Empire, and this caused great dissatisfaction among the elder brothers. Ten years later (A.D. 833) Lothaire took advantage of the disturbed state of the kingdom and the weakness of the Emperor's policy to accuse his father, before an assembly of bishops, abbots, and nobles, of various crimes against Church and State. The poor old King, broken down by the ingratitude of his children and the responsibilities of empire, and full of self-reproach because he had not succeeded in carrying out measures which his feeble will was insufficient to enforce, nor prevented crimes which were in fact beyond

his control, humbly confessed with many tears the crimes laid against him; and was condemned to a lifelong penance and perpetual seclusion from the affairs of State in the Abbey of St. Médard. The official president of the assembly where this iniquitous proceeding took place was Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who as metropolitan of the province, acted as the spokesman of the assembled prelates and seigneurs, and pronounced the sentence against the King. The conduct of Ebbo was the more disloyal, as he had been Louis' foster-brother, and had by the royal influence been raised from being a peasant's son to a high position in the Empire, having been appointed soon after his ordination to be keeper of the royal archives of the province of Aquitaine, and subsequently (in 816) elected, with the universal acclamation of the clergy and people, to the archbishopric of Rheims. In this see he had shown himself a zealous reformer of abuses, and a devoted and exemplary Bishop. Six years later, he was sent by the King to Denmark as royal ambassador and apostolic missionary, and there had great success in the conversion of the pagans. But the temptation to take the lead in a great political struggle proved too strong for him: doubtless he persuaded himself that he was acting in the best interests of the Church in getting rid even by such questionable means of a Prince whose weakness was unable to meet the various abuses which prevailed.

This cruel treatment of their monarch soon caused a reaction in favour of Louis, whose younger sons, disgusted with the arrogance of their eldest brother Lothaire, rose against him, restored the King to liberty, and drove Lothaire into exile, whither he was followed by most of the Bishops who had sided with him. But the leader among them, Ebbo, was seized on the way, and, after a short imprisonment, was compelled to read from the pulpit of the Church of St. Stephen, Metz, a retractation of his conduct and a public declaration that the proceeding against the unhappy King was unjust from beginning to end. But this was not sufficient to atone for what he had done. He was summoned before a synod at Thionville in 835, to be tried for his treason. Here he begged, for the honour of the episcopate, that he might be tried before

bishops and not before laymen. This request was granted : he was allowed to choose three bishops as his judges before whom he secretly confessed his ill-deeds, and he afterwards read before the assembly a humble acknowledgment of his guilt, in which he renounced his episcopate and declared his see vacant. He was accordingly deposed and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a monastery.

This act of deposition was by canon law null and void, for it was not only involuntary on the part of Ebbo, who adopted this as his best means of evading worse misfortunes, but it had no legal validity, as having been concluded without the Pope's consent. The omission was the more serious because Ebbo was not only metropolitan, but also Legate of the Holy See in Western France. He could therefore only be judged by a special delegacy appointed by the Pope : and he remained after his abdication and in spite of his own resignation *de jure* Archbishop of Rheims.

From 835 to 840 Ebbo spent in a sort of honourable imprisonment in various monasteries, at Fulda and elsewhere ; but in 840 Louis died, and Ebbo, repairing at once to Lothaire at Worms, obtained from him his reinstallation in the see of Rheims. But some judicial form was considered necessary, and Lothaire summoned a council of twenty bishops, had him absolved, and restored him solemnly to his episcopate. He was received with triumph at Rheims ; but two years later, his episcopal city having been apportioned to Charles the Bald, he was again compelled to flee, and after a visit to Rome, where he is said to have been coldly received by Pope Sergius, he was nominated by Louis of Germany to the see of Hildesheim, with the consent of the Pope and of the Bishops of the province of Mayence, and there he remained from 842 until his death in 851.

From this outline of Ebbo's history the reader may gather what must have been the condition of the diocese which he governed. Rheims, like all the dioceses of Western France, was indeed in a miserable plight during the first half of the ninth century. The civil wars of France had been productive of many evils, of which not the least was the decay of ecclesiastical discipline. The Bishops, in spite of themselves, had been often almost compelled to take part in the

struggle, and had done their best to allay the violence of party feeling and the rancour of political hatred. But though they were generally peacemakers, they were sometimes themselves swept away by the stream, and appear in the character of fierce partisans of one or other of the contending princes.

But this was not the end of the miseries of the Church of France. The continual civil wars left the country exposed to the ravages of the Northmen, who sailed up the Seine and the Loire, pillaging at their pleasure, and finding in the monasteries a comparatively easy prey. We find them penetrating as far as Paris in 851, and to Aix-la-Chapelle, Rouen, Nantes, and Blois. The armies which marched to meet those barbarians were as fatal to the countries through which they passed as the Northmen themselves, and abbots and bishops must perforce fortify and fight if they were to have any hope of security.

In such a disturbed state of things, one can easily imagine that ecclesiastical discipline became almost an impossibility. Life, property, everything was insecure, and the universal tendency of mankind to cultivate under such circumstances that charity which not only begins but ends at home, manifested itself throughout France, and especially in those western provinces which were, more than the rest of the country, exposed to the ravages of war. The clergy ceased to obey bishops who could not or would not help them. Bishops fought for Lothaire or Louis, and forgot their sacred character in their political partisanship. The laity, too, often saw in their bishops and clergy political opponents, not spiritual guides.

Such was the state of things when the volume of *False Decretals* appears upon the scene. They profess to be a collection of canons of councils, Papal decrees, and letters from the earliest times up to the time of St. Gregory. The writer declares his work to have been undertaken at the suggestion of numbers of bishops and other servants of God, its object being the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline and the enforcing of obedience on clergy and people. The collection consists of three parts:

1. Letters of the Roman Pontiffs from Clement to Melchisedes, sixty in number, and a letter of Aurelius, Bishop of

Carthage, to Pope Damasus, with the answer of Damasus. All of these were forged by the author of the Decretals, with the exception of two letters of Pope Clement, to which he has, however, made considerable additions.

2. The Councils from Nicæa to the second Council of Seville (819), nearly all of which are genuine.

3. The Decretals of the Popes from Silvester to Gregory I. (one or two of Gregory II. being added), of which about forty were forged by the compiler, some six or seven are apocryphal documents belonging to former ages, while all the rest are genuine.

The False Decretals were composed between the years 845 and 857. They contain numerous quotations from the Council of Paris in 829, of Aix in 836, and of Meaux in 845. They are first quoted in the Council of Quiercy-sur-Oise in 857, where the synodal letter of the Council cites the spurious letters attributed in the False Decretals to Popes Anacletus, Urban, and Lucius. Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, quotes them in his work on the divorce of Lothaire (written about 862), and seven or eight years afterwards they again appear in the letters of his nephew, Hincmar of Laon; in each case the forged letters of the Popes being quoted apparently in all good faith as genuine.

All this fixes their date with absolute certainty. They cannot have been earlier than 845; they cannot have been later than 857.

We need not linger long on the question of country which gave them birth. From end to end they proclaim their birth-place to have been Western France. Nay, more, it is as certain as anything can be from internal evidence that the diocese of Rheims was the particular district to which they owe their origin. Their language betrays their connection with France. The nobles are *seniores* (seigneurs) and *comites* (comtes); ambassadors are *missi* (envoyés). In the genuine part of the compilation, the previously existing *Hispana* (or Spanish collection, attributed to St. Isidore of Seville), is supplemented by the *Hadriana* which had been sent some fifty years before to the Frankish Bishops by Hadrian I., and was regarded as of great authority in France, and by another collection now generally known as *Quesnelliana*,

and which was probably compiled in France. The author's own forgeries are mainly from sources exclusively Frankish, *e.g.*, he draws from the Council of Aix in 816 and 836, of Paris in 829, of Meaux in 845, from the letters of St. Boniface of Mayence and of the Abbess Cargith, which could scarcely be known outside France.

That Rheims was their special province appears from the fact that the earliest recognition of them was in that diocese. They are cited (probably) by clerics of Rheims in 853, by the Synod of Quiercy in 857, by Hincmar of Rheims in 859. They are compiled by one who had continually before his mind the condition and circumstances of the Church of Rheims, by one who knew the details of its contemporary history, and who, above all, has ever in view the struggle between its Archbishop Ebbo and his various enemies, and who is determined to vindicate, so far as such a work can vindicate, the action of Ebbo from the beginning to the end of his career.

So far we have been treading on sure ground. Our next step lands us in the region of hypothesis, although we believe that the hypothesis we shall put forward has an amount of probability which approaches to moral certainty. Who was the author of the False Decretals? The question is a very interesting one, and deserves a careful and scientific treatment, and it is with reluctance that we shall have to dismiss it with a mere cursory glance. We have already prepared the way for the expression of our opinion in the history we have given of the events of the time.

Every book bears stamped upon it at least the leading features of its author's character and some indication of his history. The False Decretals show plainly enough that he who compiled them was a bold, clever, industrious, enterprising, unscrupulous man. They show, moreover, that he was a cleric well acquainted with the affairs of the Frankish kingdom generally, and knowing intimately all the details of the Church at Rheims. They also point to his having been a bishop, and a bishop who had suffered from the violence of the secular arm, and had a wholesome dread of the interference of secular princes; a bishop, too, who was keenly conscious of the evils caused by the non-residence of bishops and the usurpation of their functions

in their absence by the suffragans (*chorepiscopi*); a bishop who had had troublesome clerics to deal with; a bishop whose interests lay with the secular clergy and not with the monastic orders, since, in spite of the sufferings of the monks, not a word do his Decretals say about penalties incurred by the violation of monasteries; and last of all, a bishop who had not always resided peacefully at his see, but had wandered at least for a time to other parts of the Empire, and spent some time in the province of Mayence, under Otgar its Archbishop. Who is there in the whole world who fulfils all these conditions, save only the able, unscrupulous, energetic Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, the reformer of his diocese in early times, the political partisan in later years, the exile from his diocese at Fulda and elsewhere, who returned only to be again banished, and to die in 851 Bishop of Hildesheim, whither he had been transferred with the Pope's consent by the favour of Louis of Germany.

That the compiler of the Decretals has Ebbo in view throughout his work is not denied even by those who refuse to recognize him as their author. The coincidence of the peculiar circumstances of Ebbo with the peculiar case contemplated by the author of the Decretals cannot have been a chance one. Thus Pope Felix reserves to a bishop who is separated from his diocese and confined elsewhere (*in detentione aliqua a suis ovibus sequestrato*) the revenues accruing during his absence.¹ This was exactly Ebbo's case. If reference were not made to him, why did the Decretals put into the mouth of the Pope a special and not a general case of imprisonment or banishment from a diocese? Pope Alexander declares a confession, even in writing, if made under pressure, to be null and void, in which it is impossible not to see a reference to Ebbo's confession and abdication in 836. The Synod of Antioch, among its genuine decrees, has one which forbids a bishop deposed by a synod to be restored except by a larger synod. This, however, would have been fatal to Ebbo's restitution in 840, to which we alluded above, for he was deposed by forty-three bishops, restored only by twenty. In the Decretals Pope Julius writes to the Bishops of Antioch

¹ Felix I. Ep. 10.

in reference to this synodal decree: "You have said that Athanasius cannot be restored by a number of bishops smaller than the number of those who deposed him. It is not so. This is no rule of the orthodox Bishops of Holy Church, but of the Arians, and has been framed for the destruction of the orthodox Bishops."¹ And finally, the translation to Hildesheim at a time when he claimed to be and really was *de jure* Archbishop of Rheims, which according to the canons was lawful only if the necessities of the Church required it (which was not true in Ebbo's case), is justified in the Decretals by a string of Papal letters allowing of translation whenever a bishop should be removed from his see by motives of necessity or utility, and, above all, if he should be driven thence by violence, where the allusion to Ebbo's appointment to Hildesheim is undeniable.

It was therefore, without any doubt, either Ebbo himself or some one who had his interests very near at heart who was the forger of the Decretals. We can scarcely imagine that any one would be so deeply and intently wrapped up in all that concerned the Archbishop as to frame letter after letter simply to justify the individual action of his friend or patron. Besides, who was there who could have compiled them? Who had resided like Ebbo at Fulda, and afterwards at Hildesheim, both of them at no great distance from Mayence, the records of which were so valuable to the forger? Who else had the same thorough acquaintance with the evils and troubles of the diocese of Rheims as the energetic Archbishop? And, we may add, who had so smarted under the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs? Who else would have ventured on so bold, so original, so thoroughgoing an imposture? We can fancy him in the comparative retirement of his see of Hildesheim, with all the records he had collected before him, putting together, with a mixture of genuine desire to prevent hereafter the evils he had himself known by long and bitter experience, and of a half unconscious desire to justify himself in the eyes of the world, this volume of mingled truth and falsehood. And dishonest as it was, it is certainly a masterpiece; the mere fact that it so long was received unquestioned is the best proof of its author's genius. In-

¹ 174 Julius c. 113.

accuracies there certainly are, and anachronisms; but in general how consistent are its statements, how correct the expositions of canon law put into the mouth of the early Popes. What a knowledge it shows of history, of Councils, of the Church's laws, for one who lived in days when the slow process of transcription limited knowledge and made forgeries difficult of detention!

We say, then, that the authorship of these Decretals is in all probability to be ascribed to Ebbo. We half suspect that he had no intention of their ever being published. They were not completed till after 847, when he had been for some years Bishop of Hildesheim and was an old man drawing near to the grave, and if he ever meant them to see the light, they did not do so till after his death in 851. It is impossible to look into his secret heart—it may be that they were but a *jeu d'esprit*, the occupation of that restless soul during hours of leisure at Hildesheim: meant to amuse his chaplains or his successor, and never intended to deceive the Christian world. It may, on the other hand, have been his desire that they should be published and accepted as genuine. The love of his old diocese and the desire to see a happier and better state of discipline among the clergy, made him forget the sacredness of truth and the folly of attempting to promote the cause of truth by means of falsehood and forgery—the remembrance of his wrongs stirred him to vindicate his actions by giving them the high sanction which he considered that they deserved—and if he attributed to Popes letters they never wrote, and to Councils decrees they never passed, at least he did but make them the mouthpieces of the Church's irrefragable laws and unalterable doctrine. Perhaps he remembered the speeches which Thucydides and Livy put into the mouths of the heroes of Greece and Rome: why should not he too put into the mouths of the heroes of Catholicity words which they ought to have used, and might have used, and perhaps did use, although no record of them may remain?

We are not justifying the unscrupulous forger, we are simply putting forward the thoughts that may have passed through his mind. His long career of ambition had perhaps blinded him to that veneration for the majesty of

truth which a political career too often tends to dim. All through his life he had been pushing, energetic, restless, anxious to take the lead, looking to the end in view rather than to the means. And as we often find, the retired politician became an author, and the characteristics of his political life are reflected in the writings of his old age.

We must leave this interesting topic and omit various details of all kinds which confirm our view of the authorship. Our readers will, if they care to pursue the subject, find in the Decretals themselves, allusions without number, to the evils which had long prevailed in the diocese of Rheims and to the history of Ebbo's episcopate. They will find Ebbo's friends first putting them forward a year or two after his death, but in so cautious a way that it seems to indicate a lurking suspicion of their contents. They will find in the treatment of them by Hincmar, Ebbo's successor in the see of Rheims, an unwillingness to accept what came from so doubtful a source, though he does not seem to have suspected so bold a forgery. All this we must for the present pass by, because the point we have to deal with in particular is the acceptance of these Decretals by the Popes, and their influence in promoting the Papal power. In our description of them, we have purposely omitted to speak of their assertion of Papal claims, because their advocacy of the Supremacy of the Holy See is to their author merely one of the means by which he saw that the prevalent evils were to be cured and a wholesome state of ecclesiastical discipline to be established. It was the means, not the end, and any one who asserts that it was the end, or even one of the ends the author had in view, has, if he has studied the False Decretals at all, studied them with a very imperfect appreciation of their contents.

But we must treat a little more at length this important question of the purpose of the compiler of these Decretals. Some have considered that their object is mainly political, and that they were the work of a partisan of Lothaire, intended to support the cause of that Prince against his father and to justify the Bishops who had ranged themselves on his side. Such a view, though it has an element of truth, can scarcely be seriously maintained. No one would have undertaken so elaborate a work for such an object as

this, or put together a volume in which the greater part would be altogether irrelevant to his purpose. He would not have copied out formerly existing compilations which would not have in any way furthered his design, or filled his pages with ecclesiastical regulations and questions of doctrine and discipline which would have been entirely beside the mark. And apart from this, their date wars against this theory, for they appeared at a time when the struggle between Louis and his ungrateful children was a matter of the past.

Another view regards them as simply a pious fraud, an honest—or rather we should say a dishonest—attempt to restore ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of France, to heal the wounds which political disturbances had inflicted upon her, to give a higher sanction to the canons of local synods which the troubles of the times had rendered almost inoperative, and which had been openly set aside by the secular authorities. Hence we find the False Decretals putting these canons in the mouths of early Popes: adducing Councils and Papal letters without end in support of the liberties and independence of the clergy; enforcing obedience of the clergy to bishops; restricting the functions of suffragans, who had usurped to themselves rights they did not possess; upholding the jurisdiction of metropolitans in the bishops of their district and of primates over metropolitans; and last but not least asserting for all the right of an appeal to the Holy See against secular princes, bishops, archbishops, and synods, provincial or general. Other points on which stress is laid are the intimate union of a bishop with his flock, so that he ought not to be transferred elsewhere, except for some weighty reason, and the right of bishops to be judged by a synod of their own province, and not by a general synod of bishops collected here and there at the will of the King, from which justice could never be looked for, as the King could pack it at his pleasure with those whom he knew would be subservient to his will. How futile all the other measures would have been unless the right of appeal to Rome had been insisted on, is evident from the fact that without it there was practically no hope of redress for an unfortunate bishop who had offended the King or his ecclesiastical superior.

If he could not turn to Rome for aid, how was he to obtain justice? When all else failed and he was driven into exile by an unjust sentence, or by a packed tribunal, or by an interfering prince, one tribunal there was where he knew he would have a fair hearing—one prince who was superior to ambition or political animosity. Slow the process would be: there was no fear of hasty interference on the part of the Pope—it would be months, perhaps years, before sentence would be given; his opponents would be heard; a long correspondence would intervene; his patience would be sorely tried as he remained, still under a cloud, at the Roman Court waiting for the verdict. But he knew it would come at last; justice would be done; and Rome would not shrink from hurling her anathemas, if need be, against offending prince or prelate who refused obedience to her gentler voice. What a security this in those days of violence and wrong! how necessary in those times when there was war to the knife even between bishop and bishop, archbishop and archbishop, not to mention the continual encroachment of kings and seigneurs on the Church's rights!

This view of the purpose of the author of the *False Decretals* is in the main correct, but we must not leave out of sight the personal element that they contain. The advocate of the Church's privilege has his eye continually on Ebbo's wrongs; each disciplinary measure is guarded by some saving clause against any disparagement of Ebbo's conduct. If bishops are not to be lightly transferred, there is to be an exception if a bishop is driven from his see; if the canons of Antioch forbid the restoration of a bishop deposed by a synod, except by the action of a synod more numerous, the Holy See steps in and cancels the enactment as uncanonical. Hence our general conclusion, combining these two commonly accepted views, is that the *False Decretals* are intended to bring about a reform of ecclesiastical discipline in Western France, but that they have at the same time pointed allusions, conscious or unconscious, to him whom we cannot but regard as their author, Ebbo of Rheims, to his history, his sufferings, and his wrongs.

It is plain enough, then, that those *Decretals* were not the work of Rome or Rome's Bishop. It has been said,

however, that even though it may be true that the Popes had nothing to do with the fabrication of them, yet that they were glad enough to use them as soon as they discovered the good service that had been done to their cause.

Some time after this (861), Rothade, Bishop of Soissons, had been excommunicated for alleged disobedience to his metropolitan, Hincmar of Rheims. He thereupon appealed to Rome. The Bishops of the metropolitan province of Rheims held a second synod, deposed Rothade, and appointed another bishop in his place, and handed him over to be imprisoned in a monastery. Rothade appealed to Rome again, and the Pope thereupon sent for Rothade, called a Council (Concilium Romanum V.), and annulled the whole proceeding, threatening Hincmar with excommunication unless Rothade were at once restored. A correspondence took place between the Frankish Bishops and the Pope, in which the former urged that the decrees quoted by Rothade to support his appeal, and which were taken from the False Decretals, were not contained in the *Hadriana*, or collection of decrees sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, and therefore were not binding. They did not attempt to deny the authenticity of the decrees; but accepting them as authentic, they denied their supreme authority, and they laid down the false principle that whatever was not contained in their *Codex Hadrianus* was not binding on them, and had not the force of law in the Empire of the Franks. To this St. Nicolas answers that they were wrong in despising decrees of the Pontiffs because they were not found in the *Codex Canonum*. "God forbid," he says, "that any Catholic should refuse to embrace with honour due and the highest approval either decretals or any exposition of ecclesiastical discipline, provided always that the Holy Roman Church, keeping them from ancient times, has handed them down to us to be guarded, and lays them up in her archives and ancient memorials. Some of you have maintained that these decretals of former Pontiffs are not contained in the whole body of the canons, while those very men, when they see that they favour their designs, use them without distinction, and now only attack them as less generally received (*minus accepta*) in order to diminish the power of

the Apostolic See and increase their own privileges. For we have some of their writings which are known to adduce not only the decrees of certain Roman Pontiffs, but even of those of early times. Besides, if they say that the decretals of early Popes are not to be received because they are not to be found in the *Codex Canonum* (or Hadriana), this would be a reason for not receiving any ordinance or writing of St. Gregory or of any other Pope before or after him." And St. Nicolas then goes on to quote from the genuine letters of St. Leo and Gelasius to prove the respect due to all decretals of the Holy See.¹

Whether in all this the Pope alludes directly or indirectly to the False Decretals is a question very difficult to decide. It seems that Rothade had quoted them in his favour. The other Bishops had not rejected them as spurious. St. Nicolas abstains from saying a word in their favour, but perhaps alludes to them so far as this, that he twits the Bishops with playing fast and loose—using a document when it suited them, rejecting it as not of supreme authority when it ran counter to their wishes; but he expresses no sort of personal acceptance of the forged collection, and never makes any quotation from it, but only from those genuine letters which were, he says, actually stored up in the Roman archives.

This is clear enough from the difficulty made by the Bishops. Hincmar does not say, Yes, but those documents quoted by Rothade are a forgery, as he would have said if the question turned on their authenticity. Instead of this he says, "We allow that these Decretals are to be received with veneration (*venerabiliter suscipienda*), but we do not allow that they are necessarily to be received *and observed* (*recipienda et custodienda*), thus showing that in his mind the question turned simply on their weight of authority as Papal decrees." In fact, he himself uses these False Decretals over and over again in his quarrel with his nephew, Hincmar of Laon, and to exact submission from the Bishops under him.

St. Nicolas, then, not only acted wisely and prudently in the answer he sent to the Bishops, but he pursued the only course open to him under the circumstances. Rothade

¹ Mansi, xv. 694, 695.

was in the right—right in his interpretation of canon law, right in the justice of his appeal, right in protesting against the way in which he had been treated. In his defence of himself he had adduced decretals heretofore unknown, but which he evidently regarded as undoubtedly genuine. They were unknown to the Pope; their doctrine was correct; they were not in the Roman archives; but the Bishop of Soissons quotes them with no hesitation, and his opponents do not deny their authenticity. What would any Protestant have had the Pope do? Open an endless critical discussion about the value of the documents quoted? Refuse to listen to Rothade, because he illustrated true doctrine from questionable authorities? Instead of this, his reply to the Bishop amounts to this: You object to the authority of what you allow to be Papal Decretals, that they do not occur in your national summary of canon law. There you are wrong. There are plenty of Papal letters outside your codex. You ought to refuse no decretals, supposing always that they are to be found in our archives. But he purposely and pointedly says nothing about these particular decretals, does not quote them, does not approve them, does not recognize them, indirectly sets them aside, inasmuch as he never mentions them, and never from one end of his pontificate to the other makes the slightest use of them, or acknowledges their existence, though they had been quoted in letters addressed to him and copies of them had already been brought to Rome.

But at least we should have imagined that he would afterwards have made some use of these documents about which there seemed to be no doubt in the Catholic world. On the contrary, he writes again to Hincmar in 863, and mentions the Popes who are authorities on the method to be pursued in the trial of bishops, but says not one word of the countless passages in the False Decretals which deal at length with this subject. He mentions the letters of no Pope before St. Siricius, whose letters are genuine, although five years before he had learned from Loup of Ferrières the existence of a decretal attributed to St. Melchiades, most favourable to the rights of the Holy See. But, more remarkable still, he quotes in various letters passages which are attributed by the False Decretals to early Popes, but in

every case he attributes them, not to the Pope whose name they bear in the False Decretals, but to their real authors.

So far for St. Nicolas I. The next Pope was Adrian II. He, it is true, in one passage borrows a passage from a decretal assigned by the forger to Pope Anterus, and gives it under the name of that Pope. The letter in which it occurs is a confirmation of the transfer of a Bishop from the see of Tours to that of Nantes. It is no question of Papal authority being advanced or Papal claims established by those forgeries. It is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact of the French Bishops who asked for the authorization of the translation having cited this passage from Anterus in confirmation of their request, the Pope took it for granted that their citation was correct and inserted it in his reply. Or, more probably, he entrusted the drawing up of the letter to some Cardinal or Secretary, who had read and accepted the Decretals, and who introduced the passage as exactly suited to the case in point. No one who has any notion of the mass of business which continually surrounds the Pope can be so unreasonable as to expect him to write each letter with his own hand, or to verify every quotation. When it was read to him for his approval, he would naturally take the extract as correct on the authority of the compiler of the document; nor can any one brand him even with negligence for doing so. But with the exception of this one isolated passage, not a single extract from the False Decretals occurs in the letters or other documents issued by Adrian II. When he quotes from the decretals of former Popes, he invariably assigns the quotations to their true authors, never to those to whom they are attributed in the supposititious volume, although they occur word for word in it, with the authority of greater antiquity put forward in their behalf.

Adrian II. was succeeded by John VIII., of whose voluminous correspondence we have more than three hundred and fifty letters still extant. In all these, not a trace of the False Decretals. Stephen VI., who came next, observes the same silence, save in one passage, where he alludes to a letter falsely attributed to St. Athanasius; but he builds no argument on it, and shows by the context that, even if he were aware of the contents of the Decretals, he

did not regard them as worthy of credit. We need not carry on the matter through the next one hundred and fifty years. It is enough to say, that during all that period there is but one allusion to one of the unauthentic documents quoted in the Decretals. And even here it is probable that the document in question existed before the Decretals were compiled.

✓ All this is the more remarkable, because all this time the Decretals were known at Rome. They are quoted over and over again by authors who wrote at Rome during those two hundred years. John the Deacon, about 880, in a Life of St. Gregory which he dedicates to the then reigning Pontiff; Auxilius, in his defence of the ordinations of Pope Formosus; Luitprand, or the author who bears his name, writing about 950, all use them freely: and we cannot but wonder at the wisdom and prudence of the Holy See in rejecting documents in which there was so much tending ✓ to establish Papal authority. In fact, it was not until a French Bishop (St. Leo IX.) occupied the Chair of Peter that the False Decretals began to be regarded as genuine by the Papal Court, and to be quoted as authentic in the documents of the Holy See.

Another important point still remains to be noticed. Gallicans and Protestants have maintained that these Decretals had a very marked influence on the discipline of the Church, that whether Popes used them or not, they were used by Papal partisans to promote Ultramontane encroachments. Not content with this general charge, Gallicans have, happily for truth, alleged certain definite questions on which they say that they have undeniably promoted Papal authority and set aside the traditions of the primitive Church.

Here we may remark, for the benefit of all those who find in these False Decretals a stumbling-block to their acceptance of Rome's supremacy, that nothing can be more at variance with all human experience than to suppose that a document which introduced a new system of government into the Church would have been accepted without a very careful examination of its authority by the faithful at large. Above all, in the Church of France, where there was a

strong national and political spirit, there would have been great reluctance in admitting anything which enabled Rome to diminish the power of the King or the independence of the Gallican Church. And what is the fact with respect to these Decretals? Not only did France receive them unhesitatingly, but she actually gave them birth. Their author was an ecclesiastic intimately acquainted with the affairs of the French Church, eager in her interests, most probably a French Bishop, the friend and favourite of the French King, in his youth the keeper of the Archives of Aquitaine, the reformer of his diocese, in later times the political partisan, whose tendency would have been to oppose Papal "aggression," and to push forward local claims. What more ridiculous than to suppose him inventing a system of government unknown before, and a centralization of authority in Rome to which Christendom was hitherto a stranger? And even supposing that his private interests had made him recklessly Ultramontane, what more ludicrous than to suppose that his inventions would have been received as they were without dispute, and would have been accepted as the law of the Church as soon as promulgated? Nay, more, what more fatal to the Gallican hypothesis respecting them than the fact that those who were slowest to acknowledge them, who displayed an unaccountable reluctance in admitting their authenticity, were those very Popes whose grasping ambition they are supposed to further and promote?

When we come to the definite points in which Gallicans assert power to have accrued from Rome from these Decretals, we find that historical facts do not in any way bear out their assertions. Not one of the three points which they allege is new in the history of the Church; each of them was recognized as the universal law binding on all the faithful before the Decretals were thought of. Thus they say that before the Decretals the necessity of Papal sanction to the validity of provincial synods was never recognized: a statement which is directly contradicted by the history of the Council of Chalcedon, where the charge against Dioscorus was that he had dared to hold a synod without the authority of the Apostolic See. They say again that the right of appeal on the part of

Bishops to the Holy See was introduced by the Decretals. Here too they are equally mistaken. The Council of Sardica, 347, distinctly sanctions such appeal, and when an appeal has been made forbids the appointment of a successor to the see till Rome has heard the case. And lastly, they say that the author of the Decretals first invented the doctrine that the Holy See is subject to no human tribunal. This doctrine, which, by the way, is only implicitly contained in the Decretals, appears in documents anterior to the ninth century, *e.g.* in the so-called Acts of the Second Roman Council, and in the instructions of Pope Gelasius to his Legate Faustus. In fact there is not a single prerogative or privilege of Rome asserted in the False Decretals which was not generally recognized as the common law of the Christian Church. They changed nothing, altered nothing, added nothing: at most they only put into convenient shape what was before less easy of access, and so helped to popularize a doctrine which was sometimes forgotten by local prelates, and to keep before their minds that dependence on the Holy See which is the central doctrine of Catholic ecclesiastical discipline.

If the ready acceptance of the False Decretals as genuine proves anything at all, it proves that the attitude of dependence on the Roman See which characterizes them throughout, was accepted throughout Western France as the remedy for all the evils that had invaded the Church of France; and that those who lamented the corruptions that had crept in, and the general laxity of discipline that prevailed, knew that their remedy was to be sought in the due maintenance of the authority of the Roman Pontiff. At this distance of time it is impossible to attain to certainty as to the exact motive with which they were written. But of this we may at least be absolutely sure, that they were not written from any desire to increase the power of the Holy See; that they were never employed for this object by the Popes themselves; and they place before our eyes, if not what those to whom they are assigned actually said, yet at least what Christendom in the ninth century believed to have been their opinion respecting the affairs of the Church and the power of her supreme ruler, which had been handed down from the beginning.

Cranmer and Anne Boleyn.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J.

THE name of Thomas Cranmer must always occupy a conspicuous place in English history. He was the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and he held that eminent position for nearly the quarter of a century. During the whole of that period he contributed largely to the overthrow of the Catholic Church in England and to the establishment of that form of worship by which it was succeeded, and which has continued with a few alterations down to our own day. It was chiefly by his agency that the severance of the Church of England from the unity of the Catholic faith was effected; and to him in a great measure was due the introduction among us of that extreme class of Continental Reformers, such as Bucer and Peter Martyr, from whom descended the Puritans of a later generation. In these present times of religious inquiry it is important for us to ascertain for ourselves not only what was the character of the changes effected by Cranmer, but also what was the character of Cranmer himself. We should like to know what manner of man he was; how he lived and how he died, with whom he associated, what he wrote, what he preached, what he practised. Whether we admire his character or despise it; whether we agree with his opinions or reject them; whether we hold him to be a martyr or a heretic; must depend in a great degree upon what the man was during the period of his human life among other men. But how are we to arrive at this information? The books upon the subject to which we are referred are costly, scarce, and one-sided; with hardly an exception they are written by partisans; they often suppress the truth and oftener still they distort it. Thus a primary difficulty is in the way of the inquirer, but it is not insuperable. The following outline of Cranmer's history in as far as he was connected with Anne Boleyn may possibly help the reader to arrive at a conclusion. The facts which are here narrated are derived

with scarcely an exception, from Protestant writers, very frequently from the published writings and letters of the Archbishop himself. The author of the following pages has refrained for the most part from making observations upon the facts which he has recorded, feeling persuaded that the inferences to which they lead may safely be left to the good sense and honest convictions of the reader himself.

Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, was born on the 2nd of July, 1489, at Aslacton, in the parish of Whatton, Nottinghamshire. His father Thomas was of respectable family, and held a good position as a country gentleman, the property on which he lived having descended to him from ancestors who had held it from the beginning of the century. His mother's name was Agnes Hatfield, of Willoughby, whose family was somewhat superior to that of her husband.¹ Of the early years of Thomas the son we know little. He was reared as one of his state of life might be expected to be at the period; he was familiar with country sports and a good rider. We have the authority of the holy martyr Campion for stating that his appearance was venerable. His manners and address were agreeable. An early authority tells us that "he learned his grammar of a rude parish clerk in that barbarous time, unto his age of fourteen years," when upon the death of his father in 1503, he was sent to complete his education at Jesus College, Cambridge. Here his progress must have been at least respectable, for in 1515 he obtained a fellowship, which however he lost shortly afterwards by reason of his marriage. At this time he was not in Holy Orders.²

The circumstances which attended this change of condition are not clearly ascertained, for his biographers are careful not to enlarge upon them. But the estimation in which his wife was held may be inferred from the name by which she was generally known in the University, "Black Joan of

¹ Much interesting information on the early history of the Archbishop's ancestors may be seen in the *Genealogical Memoirs of the Kindred Families of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wood, Bishop of Lichfield*. By R. E. C. Waters. London, 1877. 4to.

² Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, i. 2. Edit. Oxf. 1840.

the Dolphin," such being the sign of the tavern of which she was an inmate. When charged at a later period with this marriage Cranmer did not deny the fact, but answered "that whether she was called black or brown he knew not; but that he married there one Joan, that he granted." The young couple took up their abode at the said Dolphin, and there Mrs. Cranmer gave birth to a child. This connection did not last long, for both the baby and the mother happening to die shortly afterwards, his friends at Jesus reinstated the widower in the fellowship which he had vacated on his marriage, an arrangement sanctioned by the laws of the College.¹ Here he seems to have resided for several years afterwards, occupied in study and tuition. We are told that "he was a slow reader but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, for he seldom read without pen in hand." Proofs of his industry still remain in several large volumes which are preserved in the libraries of Lambeth Palace and the British Museum, consisting chiefly of extracts from and references to the Fathers and Schoolmen, selected by himself and then copied out according to his instructions by his transcribers.²

During a considerable portion of the time thus occupied Cambridge was the home of no less eminent a scholar than the learned Erasmus. The influence of the holy martyr John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, had obtained for Erasmus the Professorship of Divinity, and the reputation he had already earned for himself attracted a large number of the members of the University to hear his lectures, among whom it is more than probable that Cranmer was one. Certain it is that the writings of this learned humanist became a favourite study with him, and as such cannot but have had an evil influence upon his faith, containing as they do the germ of principles which if pushed to their legitimate conclusion end in doubt and infidelity. Cranmer's friends let us know that from Erasmus Cranmer passed on by a natural gradation to the study of Luther, after which, "considering what great controversy there was in matters of religion," he applied himself for three whole years to the understanding of the Scriptures. And this kind of study

¹ *Cranmer's Works*, ii. 219, 557. Edit. Parker Soc. 1846.

² *Ibid.* ii. 7, 8; Jenkyns' *Life of Cranmer*, iv. 147.

he used until he was made Doctor of Divinity in the year 1523, he being then about thirty-four years old.¹ He continued for some time longer to work in the same direction, until at last he seems to have attained the reputation of being a high authority among the Reformers at Cambridge.² But it was not until some years after the events to which reference has here been made that his qualifications as a disputant against the authority of the Holy See became known beyond the limits of his own University; and for this unhappy notoriety he was indebted to an accident. But in explanation of this incident a few explanatory remarks here become necessary.

Very shortly after his accession to the throne Henry VIII. married Catherine of Arragon, she at the time being twenty-four years of age, and he eighteen. She had been the wife of Prince Arthur, Henry's elder brother, but the young couple had never cohabited, and she affirmed that the marriage had never been consummated. It happened that the three sons to whom she gave birth died in their infancy; and Henry, like all the Tudors, was nervously apprehensive that in the event of his death without an heir male the crown of England would pass into some other branch of the ancient royal family. His life, long licentious, had become notoriously profligate when Anne Boleyn attracted his notice; and by steadily resisting his solicitations to become his mistress, she suggested or encouraged (at last successfully) the idea of a divorce from Catherine and a marriage with herself. The Papal Court opposed the application for a divorce, and Henry employed every effort to overcome this difficulty, conscious that so long as it existed no progress could be made towards the end which he had so much at heart, a marriage with Anne Boleyn. Henry had tried promises, threats, and bribes in vain; the Pope was firm, and the royal lovers were in despair.

Such was the state of affairs when in the year 1529 an epidemic, which went by the name of the Sweating Sickness,³

¹ Strype, i. 3.

² The anti-Catholic party must have been strong at Cambridge about this time; and it is probable that among his fellow-students Cranmer may have reckoned such men as Bilney, Bayfield, Dugate, Roy, Frith, Lambert, and Barnes, all of whom were burnt for heresy.

³ *Lord Herbert*, p. 345. Edit. Ward and Lock.

broke out in England. It was very general and very fatal; and so great was the dread which it inspired that for a time public business was suspended. The courts of law did not sit either in London or the country, the inmates of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were dispersed, and the tutors and pupils found a residence elsewhere as best they might. Cranmer at the time had under his care the two sons of a gentleman of the name of Cressy, to whose house at Waltham Cross, in Essex, they and their tutor naturally betook themselves. Here they met Edward Foxe, the King's almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, the King's secretary, both of whom had retired from Court by reason of the prevailing sickness. The conversation naturally turned upon the all-absorbing question of "the King's great matter," and each man expressed his opinion upon it. Cranmer being invited, as an authority from Cambridge, to say what he thought, maintained that the whole question had been misunderstood and mismanaged from the beginning. Money and time, he said, had been wasted from the spring of 1527 to the present year of grace 1529. According to him the Pope had no jurisdiction whatever in the matter, and it ought never to have been taken into his Court. He argued the point at considerable length, and met the objections which were brought by Foxe and Gardiner against it. They were struck by the bold novelty of the argument, and lost no time in reporting it to Henry, who listened with deep interest to the account which they gave of the learning and acuteness of the Cambridge doctor. He expressed his approval of Cranmer's argument with more force than elegance, remarking, "I perceive that this man hath the right sow by the ear."¹ The result was a command for Cranmer to betake himself to Greenwich, there in person to unfold to the King the novel plan which he had excogitated for the solution of the difficulty which the Pope and the Papal Court had declared to be insoluble.

When the interview took place, Henry heard and approved; but as he wished to study the subject at his leisure, he requested Cranmer to reduce it to writing, and return with it when completed. He remarked that this could not be done in safety at Cambridge, where he might

¹ Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, iii. 136. Edit. 1853.

be seduced from his allegiance, or bribed or threatened by the opposite party. A home near the Court was therefore provided for him by the thoughtful care of the King himself; and he was told that he might for the future consider himself a member of the household of the Earl of Wiltshire.

The household of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Wiltshire, was not exactly the place, we should have imagined, which should have been selected for the residence of a doctor of divinity.¹ Even with his recollection of the homely manners and conversation of Black Joan and the other frequenters of the Dolphin at Cambridge, we can imagine, without being uncharitable, that his present more aristocratic abode at Durham House must at times have shocked the propriety of the future Archbishop of Canterbury. But that it did so nowhere appears. He gladly accepted it, because Henry had commanded it. The family of the Boleyns was already too well known to the scandal-mongers of the English Court, where it had acquired a character which was notorious rather than illustrious. The Countess of Wiltshire had attracted the admiration of Henry at an early period of his life, and she yielded to his solicitations during the lengthened absence of her husband, whom the King took care to employ on a foreign embassy. When she ceased to be a novelty in the eyes of the royal libertine, he transferred his attentions to her eldest daughter, Mary, who in due course followed the example and shared the fate of her mother. In February, 1521, Mary became the wife of William Cary, her guilty intercourse with the King still continuing; and it is stated in a contemporaneous paper yet in existence, that her reputed son, Thomas Cary, was in reality the son of King Henry.² Of the laxity of the conduct of Anne Boleyn, the third daughter, while she was a resident in the French Court, there can be little doubt, as frequent notices of it occur in contemporary French memoirs, which it is unnecessary to quote in detail; while her guilty intercourse with Henry was notorious, and as to

¹ Yet, without meaning to be satirical, Strype tells us that Cranmer was "suitably placed with the Earl of Ormond." (*Life*, i. 6.) He was quite right, without intending it.

² Paul Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, ii. 334. Edit. 1884.

her adulteries with Noreys, Smeton, Weston, and Brereton, and still more, as to the hideous charges publicly brought against her of her sin with her brother—for which he died on the scaffold—this is no place for any further notice. In short, the entire household was reeking with profligacy; and Durham House, lately an episcopal residence, had now become little better than a house of call, convenient but not respectable, for the King and his dissolute companions. Such was the new home of the future Archbishop, and he seems to have been satisfied with it.

It may be said however that Cranmer had no alternative, and that the King's commands must be obeyed. Granted. Henry was one of those persons whom it was not safe to disobey, and he had his own reasons for placing the Cambridge doctor under the immediate charge of the Boleyns. He seems to have understood Cranmer's character from the beginning, and saw at a glance that he might be easily moulded, that his principles were weak and his morality was accommodating. Anne too would be kind to him. Cranmer submitted with a good grace, and seems to have been happy in his surroundings. My Lord of Wiltshire becomes his "singular good lord," and he takes a kindly interest in "my lady, your wife, and my Lady Anne, your daughter." Further, he chronicles with satisfaction how "the King and my Lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsor, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Court."¹ These words are taken from a letter addressed by Cranmer to the Earl; and they do not convey the idea that the writer of them was either ill at ease or dissatisfied with his position, or shocked at the relations in which the royal profligate and the unmarried daughter of the household, to which he was now chaplain and confessor, stood towards each other.

Cranmer proceeded therefore with the composition of his treatise against the divorce, which on its completion he submitted to the King. So far as the treatise itself was concerned Henry was satisfied; but something further remained to be done. He inquired of Cranmer, "Will you abide by this that is here written, before the Bishop of Rome?" "By God's grace that will I do," quoth

¹ *Cranmer's Works*, ii. 229, 231.

Dr. Cranmer, "if your Majesty do send me thither." "Marry," quoth the King, "I will send you even to him on a sure embassy." Henry kept his promise. In January, 1530, an embassy was sent by him to the Pope, the Emperor (who was most hostile to the divorce), and others, which consisted of the Earl of Wiltshire, who had an allowance of 100s. a day, and of Dr. Lee, who had 26s. 8d.¹ They were afterwards accompanied by Dr. Cranmer, whose position was evidently a very subordinate one, as the comparatively small amount of 6s. 8d. a day only was assigned to him. They were directed to proceed to Rome, but what were their instructions we know not. We may state at once that from the outset Cranmer's mission to the Holy See was a failure. It attracted no attention. As early as the 12th of July he announced that the success of the embassy was small, and that he looked for nothing but opposition from the Pope and all his Cardinals. He had evidently miscalculated his own powers from the beginning, and he now found it out. Time as it advanced proved the accuracy of these anticipations, and before the summer came to an end Cranmer had learned the truth. Every argument that he advanced in favour of the divorce was met by a refutation. To remain longer in Rome was only a waste of time and money, so he resolved to leave it; and in the month of September he shook the dust from his feet as he looked his last look upon the Eternal City, and muttered his parting malediction upon the Successor of St. Peter.²

Yet this mission to Rome bore its fruits in another direction, and we have no cause to regret that it was undertaken. It enables us to understand more clearly than we otherwise might have done without it the true character of the person in whom we are for the time interested. The Pope believed Cranmer to be what he represented himself to be, that is, an honest man and a good Catholic. He was neither the one nor the other. He pretended to be a Catholic, and he acted as such externally, but in his heart he was a Lutheran. The world knew him to be a Doctor of Divinity in a Catholic

¹ Rymer, *Fœd.* xiv. 354.

² Brewer's *Calendar of Papers of Henry VIII.* 6, 531.

University, and was justified in concluding that as such he held all the articles of the Catholic faith. And he pretended to be this, and nothing less than this. During his stay in Rome he said his daily Mass and joined externally in the other functions of the Catholic religion, yet all the while he regarded some of the doctrines of the Church as heretical, and its worship as blasphemous. But so well did he play his part that the Holy Father was thoroughly deceived in him; and in token of his confidence conferred upon him the office of Papal Penitentiary,¹ thereby marking the respect which he reposed in his prudence, his learning, and his probity. The Pope judged of him as one honest man would judge of another, and was deceived; but it has been remarked long ago that it "is better to be cheated than to cheat," and if we wanted an illustration of the adage, the present might serve our purpose.

Leaving the Papal Court, where he had made small progress in forwarding Henry's great cause, Cranmer determined upon trying how far he could succeed in obtaining the signatures of the professors and lawyers in the Universities of Northern Italy to a statement affirming their belief that Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was invalid from the beginning, and consequently that he was at liberty to marry Anne Boleyn. But here also the result was far from satisfactory, for he and his companion, Croke, speedily discovered that the popular feeling was against them. In their anxiety to have something to show to Henry in proof of their industry in his service, they permitted themselves to be imposed upon by men without conscience, who did not scruple to accept the King's money for documents which were utterly worthless. Of the papers which Croke received in one day, he candidly admitted that only "two out of seven were worth a button, but they be omnigatherum." Their chances were equally gloomy in dealing with the doctors of Ferrara, Milan, Cremona, Pavia, Mantua, and Turin.² These two subordinate agents, Cranmer and Croke, soon discovered that

¹ See Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, iii. 141, and the authorities there quoted.

² Croke to Cranmer [October, 1530], *Calendar*, 6,671.

they had been anticipated by the prior visit of Stokesley, Bishop of London, whom Henry had already sent into Italy with a similar object; and who, being provided with more liberal funds, had secured all the votes and opinions that were worth the having. Such being the case, Cranmer returned to England towards the end of the year 1530, when Henry rewarded him with the archdeaconry of Taunton.¹ He still clung close to the family of the Boleyns, by the influence of whom he was appointed by the King to act as Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. early in 1532 upon a similar mission. At that time Charles had been resident in Germany, but it was known that he was really on the road to Italy, to which Cranmer followed him. Cranmer stood at this time upon the brink of a precipice, and though he may have been partially conscious of the danger of his position, he had not the courage to draw back whilst the opportunity of doing so was still vouchsafed to him. Let us see in what the danger consisted.

Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died on August 23, 1532, and a month afterwards Cranmer was recalled home, and a successor as Ambassador to the Emperor was appointed in his stead.² He arrived in England about the middle of December, and the vacant archbishopric was immediately offered to him by the King. In fact he knew of it long before, and he admits that such was the case. This nomination by Henry, as well as its acceptance by Cranmer, were attended by circumstances of a nature so peculiar as to demand a few words of inquiry and possible explanation.

In this matter of the preferment of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury the conduct of Henry was unusual. He had arrived at his decision as to Warham's successor in the English primacy with exceptional rapidity. Generally he was in no haste to fill up a vacant bishopric, more especially if it happened to be well endowed; because during the vacancy of the see its revenues found their way into the royal exchequer. Such was the case with York, Winchester, and Durham, all of them wealthy appointments, during Henry's own reign. Why then should there be such exceptional haste in regard to Canterbury, the income of

¹ Strype, i. 20.

² Strype, *ibid.*

which was superior to any of the others? And more than this—how came it to pass that the King's intention of appointing Cranmer should be known to that individual long before his arrival in England, while he was yet in a remote part of the Continent, as we learn from himself? By whom was this piece of official information communicated to him, a private individual in an inferior position, while it was yet a secret to the outer world at home? That such was the fact rests upon his own authority. His words when under examination were these: "When King Henry did send for me in post that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime."¹ The counsel for the prosecution saw it from a different point of view: according to them the appointment was simply a private bargain between the King and Cranmer, of which the terms proposed by the latter were roughly these: "Give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you license to live in adultery."² And the events which speedily followed prove that this explanation is the true one. For what were Cranmer's recommendations for the archbishopric? Simple unquestioning subservience to Henry's will, and very little more. He could have had only a vague and general acquaintance with the practical duties of the office which he was about to undertake. He knew nothing of the working of any single diocese in England. The trials and difficulties of the parochial priest were an unexplored region. He was ignorant of the traditions, rules, and feelings of every Religious Order. His life had been spent in a University amidst lectures, examinations, disputations, and similar duties; and thus slenderly provided he was about to be nominated to the highest ecclesiastical dignity which England had to offer, and he was about to accept it. Well might the world wonder, and ask what the arrangement meant. And the answer was not far to seek. It meant a divorce and a marriage.

But this was not the only difficulty which Cranmer had to encounter. Another remained to be solved, and it was at once the more difficult of the two and the more

¹ Examination before Brokes, *Works*, ii. 216.

² *Ibid.* 217.

dangerous. He could easily ignore the difficulties of the former, but it was not so easy to shun the perils of the latter. When Cranmer returned to England from the Continent in obedience to Henry's mandate, he was not alone; he is said by good authority to have brought with him a companion whose acquaintance he had formed in Germany under circumstances too peculiar to be passed over in silence.

It will be remembered that he had been sent by Henry as his emissary to the Emperor Charles V., a friendly relation with whom it was important for England to cultivate at this time, inasmuch as he was nephew to Queen Catherine, whom Henry was about to repudiate. At this juncture Charles happened to be resident in Nuremberg, and Cranmer followed him thither. Here he found himself in the midst of an excited population which at the time was deeply interested in the all-absorbing controversies which were there and then being waged between the Catholics and the Protestants. Charles was at the head of the former, and a conspicuous leader of the latter was a Lutheran preacher of the name of Osiander.¹

Andrew Osiander occupies a position of some eminence among the secondary leaders of the Reformation. We may judge of the estimate in which he was held by many from the fact that whilst yet in his twenty-second year he had been elected to the office of preacher in the great Church of St. Laurence in Nuremberg. He was learned, eloquent, and earnest, but his character was not without its faults, and those of a very grave character. He was proud and arrogant; his temper was violent and his language was coarse, at times even brutal. He offended the pacific Melancthon and exasperated the more excitable Calvin, who thus speaks of him in a letter addressed to the former: "I wonder how you can so long tolerate Osiander. From the time that I first saw him I detested his profane spirit and gross manners. When he finds the wine good at a feast he gives utterance to sentiments which cause him to be regarded as a wild beast which no one can tame. I for

¹ Born December 19, 1498, died October 17, 1552. See his *Life in Vitæ Theologorum Germanorum*, by Melchior Adam, Francof. 1706, fol. p. 109.

my part have always considered him as the disgrace of the Protestant party.”¹ The portrait is far from attractive though drawn by one Reformer of another, and it naturally suggests the question, What could have induced Cranmer to associate with such a man? We presently find, however, that the attraction was not so much in Osiander as Osiander’s niece, who resided with him. Doubtless she was young and good-looking; Cranmer saw her, admired her, paid his addresses to her, and married her. When, where, according to what rite, before what witnesses, under what circumstances, we know nothing. We here find ourselves on the threshold of a mystery the key to which has been lost. We only know that she became his wife and the mother of his children. The whole transaction is so obscure, it so entirely violates all the rules of the probable, that the first impulse of common sense is to reject it as a clumsy calumny. Yet it stands upon firm ground, for Cranmer himself admitted the fact. When under examination at his trial he confessed that being in Holy Orders he had married a second wife named Anne, and so was twice married; and that in the time of King Henry he had kept the same woman secretly and had children by her.² From whatever side we approach it this episode in Cranmer’s history is a riddle. He must have known the danger which he incurred by contracting such a marriage. He must have known the state of the law of the Church and of England upon the question, and the feelings of his lord and master, the imperious Henry. The King had no intention of abrogating the ordinary Canon Law, and that law disqualified the man who had married twice, however lawfully, so that he could not be ordained priest or consecrated Bishop. A similar irregularity was incurred by the invalid marriage of a priest. Yet he, a priest, a widower, and about to become an archbishop, a man of mature years and wide experience, deliberately put himself into this position of danger. He could not expect that the affair would escape detection, and

¹ See Calvin to Melancthon, Ep. 141, and further in the same volume, Epp. 179, 355, 392. Edit. 1576. Writing to George, Prince of Anhalt, Melancthon styles him “the most arrogant of men.” (Ep. 259. Edit. Lond. 1642.)

² *Works*, ii. 219. Edit. Parker Society. See further the Cranmer pedigree in Waters’ *Genealogical Memoirs*, p. 77.

he must have known that detection might, and probably would, be followed by degradation. Yet with all these deterrent considerations appealing to his common sense and prudence, he plunged into this illicit connection with a blind haste which suggests the only explanation which has as yet been brought forward.

It has been conjectured then that Cranmer entered into this connection not of his own free-will, but in order to escape unpleasant results which otherwise, on his refusal, would have overtaken him:—that having compromised himself with this niece of Osiander, he was driven to accept the only terms of escape from exposure—perhaps of personal violence—which were offered to him, by making the young woman his wife. However plausible this solution of the problem may look, I am bound to affirm that there is no documentary evidence whatever of its truth, and that it is here mentioned only to say thus much respecting it. Cranmer has enough to do to bear the weight of the sins and follies which can be proved against him; to debit him with others which rest only on surmise or speculation would be unjust. We may permit him to proceed on his homeward journey haunted by the consciousness that in the person of his second wife (if she indeed accompanied him) he carried the proof and the punishment of his crime. I have here spoken with some hesitation as to Mrs. Cranmer having gone at this time into England along with the Archbishop-elect, because I find that the truth of this fact is denied by one of his chief defenders, the Rev. John Strype, who writes thus categorically: “When he returned from his embassy he brought her not over with him.” The same author rejects as a ridiculous slander the story that he carried her about with him in a chest; evidently nothing more than a joke at the expense of the newly-married couple.¹

Of greater moment is the question as to whether Cranmer’s marriage was known to Henry. It is answered boldly in the affirmative by Strype, who says, “The King himself knew he had a wife well enough,” but quotes no authority. Probably he is in the right, for it is difficult to imagine how it could be otherwise. The fact must have been

¹ See Nic. Sander, *De origine schismatic Anglic.* p. 58. Edit. 1587.

notorious at Nuremberg, and must have interested friend and foe alike; and Henry had many spies there and elsewhere. If Cranmer travelled from Nuremberg to London, in company with a young woman with whom he was on terms of suspicious familiarity, the fact must have excited scandal and inquiry in every town through which the couple passed; and scandal is always communicative. If she remained in her uncle's house after her husband's departure, she would be driven in vindicating her position to proclaim her marriage. Osiander had many enemies, as we have already stated, and he could not defend himself in this matter against them without implicating the Archbishop of Canterbury, now his nephew by marriage, and the news would speedily be forwarded to England. We may feel sure that long before his arrival in London the history of the manner in which he had compromised himself was known to the King and Anne Boleyn.

But here it will be asked, if Henry was aware of Cranmer's connection with this young woman, at once disgraceful and unlawful, would he have sanctioned it as he did, by raising such a man to the primacy of the English Church? Looking at the King as he was at this time, we may assume that Cranmer's *liaison* would neither shock nor disquiet him very deeply, nor was it probable that Anne would be scandalized beyond forgiveness. The one great object for which Cranmer's help was wanted was the King's divorce from Catherine of Arragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn. He knew that Cranmer would do both the one and the other for him, and whatever else might be required; and he knew no other person who would be equally pliant. He could do it equally well, married or single. Moreover, there was one consideration which went far to reconcile him to make the nomination, even if he had ever doubted. So far from being a disqualification, Cranmer's marriage had in it something of a recommendation. It placed the future Archbishop more completely in the King's power than before. If on any future occasion he should exhibit any symptoms of hesitation in doing the will of his royal master, it would be enough to remind him of the hazardous position in which he stood before the law of the land, and then his submission would assuredly follow.

It was a possible contingency, however improbable. Henry knew the character of Cranmer, and Cranmer knew the character of Henry. And so the difficulty about the escape of Nuremberg was forgotten on both sides for the present.

Cranmer, however, was not permitted to eat the bread of idleness. Shortly after his arrival in England his docility was subjected to a severe trial. To be of any use to Henry he must be invested with the dignities and privileges of Archbishop of Canterbury, and he could not become Archbishop of Canterbury without having previously professed canonical obedience to the Pope. But here arose the difficulty. The whole of his future policy was to be based upon the rejection of the Papal authority, which he was supposed just before to have sworn to support. First of all he was about to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine, the marriage of whom the Pope had declared to be valid and canonical; and next he was about to unite Henry in marriage with Anne Boleyn, a connection which the Pope had forbidden as adulterous. How were the two lines of action to be brought into harmony? It was difficult, but Henry and Cranmer were equal to the emergency. It was managed in this wise. Before the act of consecration at Westminster, Cranmer cleared the road for future operations by resigning into the King's hands all the Bulls which he had received from the Pope as preliminaries to that solemnity, and at the same time he renounced all the clauses, sentences, and injunctions which these instruments contained; professing at the same time that he held his see entirely from His Majesty, to whom he then swore obedience and fealty. He had obtained these Bulls from Rome by a fraud, and having obtained them he employed them fraudulently. He had applied for them in the usual way through an agent whom he sent to Rome for the purpose. Among them was the oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, which that agent had applied for and received in the usual manner. All these documents were solicited and accepted by Cranmer as valid and operative, he all the while meaning to treat them as so much waste paper; and they were granted by the Holy See in the belief that they would be received and dealt with

in good faith. The Pope believed Cranmer to be an honest man and a sound Catholic, but the Pope was mistaken. The difficulty with Rome being thus surmounted by the issue and acceptance of the Bulls, Cranmer's agent returned in triumph to London with the documents in his possession, which he handed over to the Archbishop-elect. So far the fraud had been successful, and the first step was taken for the severance of England from the unity of the Catholic Church, a unity which had existed from the Pontificate of Gregory the Great.

To have succeeded in procuring these necessary papers was to have overcome the chief difficulty of the case, and the subsequent steps in this ecclesiastical fraud were easily and promptly accomplished. No time was lost in arranging for the performance of that act of consecration, which took place in the Abbey Church of Westminster on the 30th of March, 1533, the officiating prelates being Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, Voysey of Exeter, and Standish of St. Asaph. A large body of legal functionaries was in attendance in order to secure the due performance of every necessary formality, and to be able to certify at any future time that these acts had been duly discharged. But before the beginning of the ceremony, Cranmer, attended by four notaries, went into the Chapter House and there—in public or in private we know not,—protested that, by the oath which he was about to make according to the prescribed formula, he did not intend or undertake to do aught contrary to the laws of God, or the rights or laws of the State, or to hinder the reforms which he was about to introduce into the laws of England: and should it so happen that his proctor had taken any oath to the Pope which was inconsistent with that which he was now about to make to the King, he held the former oath to be null and invalid.¹

Cranmer then proceeded to the high altar in the body of the church; and being vested and on his knees before the consecrating prelates, he read the contents of a schedule of parchment to the following effect; the promises con-

¹ See Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 26. Bishop Burnet (i. 129, Edit. 1679) thinks that in this transaction Cranmer "intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above-board."

tained in which he protested were to be understood according to the sense of the solemn asseveration shortly before made by him in the Chapter House. And then, laying both of his hands upon the open book of the Gospels, he took the following oaths, namely: "I will be faithful and obedient to the Blessed Peter, the Holy Apostolic Church of Rome, and our Lord Pope Clement VII. and his canonical successors. I will not consent, either by advice or act, to any injury done to them in any manner. I will not reveal to any one, to their disadvantage, any information with which they may have entrusted me. I will not consent to any injury being done to them in any way. I will not reveal their intentions to any one. I will assist in the preservation and defence of the Roman Papacy and the royalties of St. Peter against every one. I will treat with honour and will assist the Legate of the Apostolic See. I will carefully preserve, defend, increase, and promote, the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Church of Rome, and of our Lord the Pope and of his successors. I will take no part in any design prejudicial to him or to the Church of Rome, or to his person, rights, honour, or power, and will do my best to prevent the same. I will, to the best of my ability, observe, and cause others to observe, the rules of the Holy Fathers, their decrees, ordinances, and Apostolic mandates. To the best of my ability I will persecute and assail all heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our said Lord and his successors. I will attend the synods, unless canonically prevented. I will visit the Roman Curia once every second year, either personally or by proxy. I will not sell, nor give away, nor pledge, nor in any way alienate the possessions belonging to my household, without the consent of my Chapter and the approval of the Roman Pontiff. So help me God and these holy Gospels."¹

The usual office of consecration then proceeded, and the new Archbishop received his pall; before the acceptance of which he once more read the preceding schedule explanatory of the sense in which he had made these oaths and promises, this being the third time that he had done so. He then asked the notaries to furnish him with attested

¹ Printed by Strype (Appendix, No. vi.) from *Cranmer's Register*.

copies of the proceedings of the day, and so the ceremony ended.

We turn from the contemplation of it more in sorrow than in anger. It was an evil day, in a temporal sense, for those to whom, like Queen Catherine and the Princess Mary, it brought nothing but sorrow and suffering; but how shall we estimate its effect, for time and eternity, upon the faith and the morals of the millions who from that day adopted the creed and lived the life enforced upon their unwilling acceptance "by Henry VIII., on earth supreme head of the Church of England"?

The crowd which had gathered round the stately abbey church of Westminster on the 30th of March, 1533, slowly dispersed at the conclusion of the ceremony which there and then had given to England a new Archbishop and a new religion; and the individuals of whom that crowd was composed, as they went homewards, expressed to each other their hopes or their fears with an earnestness warranted by the gravity of the occasion. How much soever they may have differed upon other points, it is probable that they agreed in thinking that the rite which they had just witnessed was pregnant with events of the deepest significance. How was it to be interpreted? Was it for good or for evil? What was coming next? Here opinions differed, but two predominated, under which, roughly speaking, the bulk of the nation might be classed; and upon each of these a few words of introduction have become necessary.

We have no difficulty in recognizing the party of the Reformation. It is the more noisy and demonstrative section of the assembly, though numerically by far the smaller; it is the party which sides with Henry, Anne Boleyn, and Cranmer. It makes itself conspicuous by the confidence of its bearing, and its loud expressions of joy at the triumph which it has that day achieved over the long and unbroken tradition of the Catholic Church in England. It has its sneer at the overthrow of the Papal Antichrist, and the severance of England from the mystical Babylon of Rome, expressions which it has caught from the "new learning" of Tyndal and Barnes, Bilney and Latimer. It goes a step further, and ventures to predict what it hopes will come to pass in no very remote future, as read by the

light which had at last begun to dawn upon the country. Its more advanced members had learned, with the facile aptitude of rebellion, that Cranmer's principles and Henry's reckless extravagance would lead to the overthrow of the old monastic system in England; and they ventured to hope that in the scramble over the accumulated wealth and landed property which would then of necessity ensue, a few crumbs of comfort might possibly fall into their own garner. Descending to a yet lower stratum of society in this class, utterance was given to the feeling that a more elastic code of morality than that which had hitherto been enforced by the clergy was desirable and even possible. The example of Luther and Catherine Boren was encouraging. Henry was no very strict moralist. The character which Anne Boleyn had earned for herself in the Court of France was discussed, and the experiences of the twice-wedded Archbishop of Canterbury afforded much amusement even to his most devoted partisans. Human passions and temporal motives influence many, and doubtless they had their ordinary weight with those who ranged themselves with the adherents of progress.

But on the other hand the wishes and feelings of the larger number of the English people were in direct and decided opposition to such dangerous speculations, and their convictions were firm in the necessity of supporting the existing order of things in Church and State. This party included nearly the whole of the clergy, secular and regular, the bulk of the nobility, by far the larger portion of the landed gentry, and with rare exceptions the entire body of the agricultural population. Thus superior in wealth, influence, and intelligence, the Conservative party ought easily to have held its own against their antagonists the innovators; and probably it would have done so but for the combination of those two elements of evil, the influence of Henry in the Parliament and Cranmer in the Church. Each of these two was comparatively powerless without the assent and assistance of the other, but when united they were irresistible.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had now become, and was henceforth to continue to be, a mere tool in the hands of the Sovereign, and his sole function was to carry into

execution the measures prescribed to him by that supreme authority. Henry understood the value of unity of action, and he was about to prove it. He was bent upon marrying Anne Boleyn, and as the Pope had refused to enable him to do so by the divorce of Queen Catherine, he renounced the Papal authority, and took the matter into his own hands by creating a private pope of his own. The idea is at once astounding by its presumption and ridiculous by its absurdity, but imperious Henry willed it and subservient England accepted it. To attain this end, the consecration of Cranmer as Primate of Canterbury had become necessary; and it now remains for us to trace the steps by which our ancestors were separated as a kingdom from the See of Rome, and found themselves identified with that chaos of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, of which they continue to be such a pitiable illustration.

Cranmer, as we have seen, became Archbishop of Canterbury on March 30, 1533, and within less than a fortnight he struck the first blow at Queen Catherine. On April 11th he addressed a letter to Henry in which (for the discharge of his own conscience) he asks permission of His Majesty "to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment in the King's said great cause of the divorce;" yet in the same sentence, astonished at his own temerity, "as one prostrate at the feet of His Majesty he beseeches the same most humbly upon his knees, to pardon these his bold and rude letters."¹ The conscience-stricken King, as the Archbishop assumed him to be, lost no time in granting what doubtless he had already commanded; for his reply to the above letter is dated upon the same 11th of April. Of course he gave his assent.² The preliminary arrangements having been made beforehand for the hearing of this suit, the necessary legal proceedings were opened at Dunstable, a few miles distant from Amptill, where the Queen at this time resided. Catherine, every inch a Queen to the last, refused to recognize Cranmer's citation, or in any way to admit the jurisdiction

¹ *Works*, ii. 237.

² *Id.* p. 238. In this characteristic letter Henry thus addresses the Archbishop: "We, being your King and Sovereign, do recognize no superior on earth, and not being subject to the laws of any other earthly creature . . . do license you to proceed in the said cause."

of his court; whereupon she was pronounced contumacious, and sentence was given against her in her absence. True to himself, Cranmer conducted the business with his usual treachery and timidity. Fearing that even at the final stage of the process the Queen might appear in person, or by her proctor, and by entering her protest against his sentence might thereby render it invalid in the eye of the law, or otherwise hinder its immediate operation, this righteous judge kept secret from all but Henry and Cromwell the date of the day on which he was about to pronounce the final judgment; and he entreated them to preserve the strictest silence upon this important circumstance.¹ Of course they did so, and the ultimate sentence, which declared that the marriage of Henry with Queen Catherine was invalid, and had been invalid from the beginning, was pronounced on May 23rd, the same "being contrary to the law of God and of nature." The result was of course no surprise to Henry, to whom it was announced by Cranmer, who adds in his usual style of servility, "I desire to know your pleasure concerning the second matrimony as soon as you and your Council are perfectly resolved therein."²

This "second matrimony" was apparently that which was to give to Anne Boleyn the legal right to style herself his wife and the Queen of England. Cranmer's remark does not help us to solve the difficulty connected with the date of this marriage, if we may venture to dignify it with such a respectable designation. What is the date of the marriage of the parents of the Princess Elizabeth, the future Queen of England? The question is not easily answered. Many of our earlier historians place it on November 14, 1532, the festival of the translation of St. Erconwald, on which day Henry and Anne returned to England from their visit to France. But this date is open to doubt, for the larger number of authorities, Cranmer included, contradict it. "She was married," says the Archbishop, "much about St. Paul's day last" [January 25, 1533], and surely Cranmer must have known.³ This date,

¹ *Works*, p. 242.

² *Id.* p. 244.

³ The Imperial Ambassador Chapuys, writing to Charles V. on May 10, 1533, says, "The King's marriage was celebrated, as it is reported, on the day of the conversion of St. Paul." (*Calend.* 465.) For Cranmer's letter see his *Works*, ii. 246. (*Calend.* 661.)

if accepted, proves that the future Queen of England was the offspring of a disgraceful connection and not of a legal marriage; even upon the assumption that the divorce of Henry and Catherine by the Archbishop was valid. But leaving that difficulty as we find it we have now to notice in due course the coronation of Anne, who in anticipation of that grand event had been created Marchioness of Pembroke. It occurred on May 31, 1533.

The pageant began by the solemn procession of the future Queen of England from the Tower to Westminster, through the City, a route which was adopted in order that the inhabitants might have the privilege of expressing their joy at her accession to the throne. They failed for the most part to avail themselves of the opportunity of doing so, on the contrary "all the people showed themselves as sorry as though it had been a funeral"¹ The coronation service took place next day in Westminster Abbey, the officiating prelates being (of course) Cranmer, assisted by Stokesley and Gardiner. The public entertainments which followed were even more costly and elaborate than usual, "and as for pastime in the Queen's chamber was never more." Anne took care not to conceal the important fact that she was about to present the nation with an heir to the throne, an event to which both of the parents looked forward with a nervous anxiety. Henry was in exuberant spirits, for not only could he now present Anne to his subject without raising a blush on the cheeks of the more respectable of the womankind, but further he believed that his long and passionate yearning for a son was at last about to be gratified, the physicians and astrologers, the sorcerers and sorceresses,² whom he is said to have consulted upon the subject, assuring him that he was about to become the happy father of a boy, and then his doubts and fears as to the continuity of the Tudors upon the throne of England would vanish. But the guilty couple were doomed to sustain a bitter disappointment; for upon Sunday, September 7, 1533, Anne gave birth to a child—and that child was a daughter.³

Henry seems to have regarded this untoward event almost as if it were a personal slight to himself, and he

¹ *Calend.* 556.² *Id.* 1,112.³ *Id.* 1,089.

did not strive to conceal his feelings. Anne too had her anxieties. By this time she had learned by experience the temper of her paramour, and she was now beginning to realize the insecurity of her own position.

But whatever may have been the feelings of the disappointed parents, it was necessary that the unwelcome girl should be made a Christian; so on September 10, 1533, she was baptized in the Church of the Friars Minors at Greenwich by Stokesley, Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury being the godfather.¹ The ceremonial was left to Anne, so it was costly and elaborate, and Henry did not interfere, in fact he was ostentatiously indifferent. The old Duchess of Norfolk bore the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train held by the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne's father, together with the Countess of Kent and the Earl of Derby. But throughout all these rejoicings the conduct and manner of Henry seemed as if he wished it to be understood that he was offended and annoyed with Anne's mismanagement. His absences from her were becoming longer and more frequent, and she soon discovered that he now found his consolation and amusement elsewhere and in other society. With her wide experience of men she ought to have expected that such would be the case; possibly she was prepared for it, and paid him back in his own coin. As her temper was none of the best, and as she was soured by disappointment, unpleasant results followed between the royal couple, to the amusement and satisfaction of many of the courtiers. But the severance was not yet complete. They continued to reside together for some time longer, until in the due course of events it was obvious that Anne was once more about to become a mother. The hopes of Henry revived, but only to be again disappointed; for the unfortunate woman gave birth to a dead child on January 29, 1536, which by a singular coincidence was the day on which Queen Catherine of Arragon was laid in her grave in the abbey church of Peterborough.

In tracing the history of Cranmer and Anne Boleyn the progress of our narrative is frequently interrupted by the necessity of referring to such political events as from time to time occurred, and which by influencing the policy of

¹ A detailed account of the ceremonial is given in Hall's *Chronicle*.

Henry at the same time influenced the fortunes of all connected with him. So it was at the period now more immediately under our consideration. It had gradually dawned upon Henry that his position was not so secure either at home or abroad as he had imagined. The execution of Fisher and More had excited a feeling of deep indignation throughout Europe, which manifested itself in the action of Pope Paul III. when he drew up a Bull by which he excommunicated Henry and absolved his subjects from their allegiance; a Bull, however, which he did not immediately publish.¹ The friendship which His Majesty had professed towards Francis had now cooled, and this feeling of indifference or semi-hostility was reciprocated on the other side of the Channel. Charles V., the nephew of Queen Catherine, was a rival of whom Henry had always been apprehensive, and his recent political and military successes had not allayed the jealousy. This antagonism was utilized and encouraged by Anne Boleyn and Cromwell,² and we know from other sources that Cranmer fell in with their novel project. Terrified by his own fears, influenced to a certain extent by the party of the Reformation at home, and irritated by a vague report that His Holiness had threatened to bestow England upon some one of the German Catholic princes, Henry resolved to make common cause with the Lutheran Protestants. For this purpose he despatched Robert Barnes, Dr. Nicholas Heath, and Edward Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, to Germany, there to join the Reformers who had assembled at Smalcald, with the grand object of persuading them "to persist and continue in their former good opinion concerning the denial of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority."³ In this combination the Anglicans played a losing game from the beginning, for it soon became obvious that their chief if not their sole object was to strengthen their own insular party against

¹ See further *Calend.* Aug. 2, 1535, No. 15. The Bull itself is given in Wilkins, *Conc.* iii. 792; *Calend.* No. 207.

² Chapuys to Granvelle, No. 357.

³ "Instructions for sending Barnes and others to Germany," printed in Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*, iii. 97. Edit. 1715, fol. When Bishop Foxe went in October, 1535, he took with him a letter of credit for 800 crowns of gold, and further, in December he desired a bill of exchange for 1,000 or 2,000 crowns more. See *Calend.* No. 589 and 1,018.

the Emperor; and that the other inducements which he held out were rather sentimental than substantial. The German princes insisted that "the said most noble King should set forth the evangile of Christ and the sincere devotion of the faithful after such sort as the princes and states confederates have confessed in the Diet of Augusta [Augsburg] and would maintain and defend the said doctrine of the evangile and the ceremonies conform to the same."¹ This provision did not coincide either with Henry's mode of conducting an argument or with his ulterior intentions, but he pretended to agree, and he requested his new allies to send over to England some learned men by whom certain articles in the Confession of Augsburg, as to the meaning of which he was yet in doubt, might be discussed and settled; for (added the Defender of the Faith) he "being a King somewhat learned, though unworthy, would not think it meet to accept at any creature's hands the observing of his and his realm's faith."² As to ceremonies he proposed that the order and limitation of them should be left to the arbitration of the governors of every dominion, supposing that every one of them can tell what is most commodious for his own dominions. All this at best meant little, and possibly might mean nothing; but the negotiation, such as it was, could easily be suspended and might as easily be resumed upon the first fitting occasion. To preserve appearances a friendly correspondence was maintained between the English authorities and the principal German theologians, in which the great Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and others of the same reputation were pleased to take a part. But it is somewhat noteworthy that among these literary celebrities we find no trace of the name of that prominent divine Osiander, a near relative of whom at this very time had bed and board in Lambeth Palace under the name of Mrs. Cranmer.

Conspicuous among these Lutheran doctors was the celebrated Philip Melancthon, who had earned for himself the reputation of being able to command his pen, his tongue, and his temper. In these respects he appears to advantage when compared with Luther. Nervously sensitive to ridicule, Henry had not forgotten the coarse abuse which

¹ Burnet, *Ibid.* iii. 103.

² *Ibid.* p. 106.

had been lavished upon him some years previously by Dr. Martin, a visit from whom was of course impossible; but Henry made it known that he would gladly welcome Melancthon, and the invitation would have been accepted but for political reasons or jealousies. In token, however, of the growing friendship a special messenger was sent to England, who brought with him a copy of one of Philip's recent publications to be presented to Henry, whom at the same time he declares to "excell other Kings in knowledge and learning, and therefore may judge of doctrine."¹

The envoy whom Melancthon despatched into England at this time was named Alexander Ales, who was described as "a good man, well learned, and worthy to be lovingly received;" and Cranmer and Cromwell appear to have welcomed him accordingly. For some short time after his arrival he made his home in the palace at Lambeth, but Henry having nominated him to read a lecture upon the Book of Psalms in Hebrew at Cambridge he removed to that University. Here however his doctrine, or the mode of his appointment, or both, being disagreeable to the authorities, or from some other unknown reason, he thought it prudent to return to London, where he continued to reside for a considerable time longer; and in London we must leave him for the present in order to renew our acquaintance with the royal couple, Henry and Anne Boleyn. They were not upon affectionate terms with each other. Henry was dissatisfied with Anne for her continued delay in presenting him with a male heir to the throne; and Anne on her part was dissatisfied with Henry for the neglect with which he treated her, and the assiduity with which he lavished his attentions upon a new attraction. Anne might have anticipated the impending evil. She ought to have known her husband by this time. It needed no soothsayer to whisper to the Queen that her day was over. Henry's passion for her had died out and was succeeded by an indifference which soon deepened into aversion. He had discovered without much difficulty a younger and fairer charmer, who had listened with no unwilling ear to the lovesick pleadings of her portly suitor. Henry was evidently in search of a new

¹ Melancthon to Mont. Oct. 4, 1535, *Calend.* No. 540.

wife, and Jane Seymour knew it as well as Anne Boleyn. But here an obvious difficulty stood in the way, or rather an old difficulty with a new face. It was clear to all, for Henry did not care to conceal it, that he was tired of Anne, and would not be sorry to be rid of her. As Catherine had been cast off to make way for Anne, so must Anne be cast off to make way for Jane. But how was it to be done? By what process? Upon what plea? The problem was not easily answered and demanded prudent forethought. But Henry was fertile in devices, he was provided with a subservient body of expert and experienced agents, and he was prompt and unscrupulous in the execution of the sentence at which he finally arrived. As he was trained in concealing his anger, so in the present instance it remained so well disguised for some considerable period that Anne seems to have been unconscious of the real danger of her position until she was entirely in his power, and then it burst upon her with the suddenness of an avalanche.

Advancing step by step to the coming catastrophe we find that according to the general custom "a solemn joustes" was held upon May day, 1536, at Greenwich, which was honoured by the presence of the royal couple. Whatever may have been Henry's private feelings he held them in control, as far at least as was known to the public; but a private individual—our former acquaintance, Ales—has a different tale to tell, and he was an eye-witness of what he relates. Standing in the crowd which had gathered round the royal palace at Greenwich he saw at an open window what was probably the last interview which took place between Henry and Anne. He could not hear the words which passed between them, but he could see that Anne had the infant Elizabeth in her arms, and that the King was angry. Shortly afterwards Henry rode off to London, leaving Anne behind him. The Council continued to sit, and when they rose our informant returned to London along with them. As they drew near the Tower the cannon of that fortress and state prison thundered out the well-known intimation that some important prisoners had been committed to its custody. These were Sir Henry Noreys, whom His Majesty had invited to return to town in

his company, and had endeavoured, as they rode side by side, to entrap into the confession that he had committed adultery with the Queen; and one Mark Smeton. The former of these two firmly maintained that he was innocent of the charge; of the admissions, if any, which were made by Smeton, we know next to nothing.

If we venture to assume that Henry, tired of Anne Boleyn and enamoured of Jane Seymour, longed to be free from the former in order that he might possess himself of the latter, we shall find that to effect this end he adopted his favourite method of procedure, a judicial murder under the disguise of a legal process. By so doing he freed himself, as he assumed, from all direct responsibility, which was transferred to the authorities by whom the trial was conducted and the sentence was pronounced. The ladies of the Court had warrant for their prompt condemnation of the wickedness of the guilty Anne and the ready congratulations which they offered to Henry upon the dangers from which he was made to believe that he had escaped. To lend some appearance of truth to this absurd accusation, the indictment by which Anne was tried charged her with having "conspired the death and destruction of the King."¹ Whatever may have been the extent of the ideal danger from which that personage imagined that he had escaped, he was weak enough to suppose that it was a reality; whereas, on the contrary, his subjects were scandalized to observe how that broken-hearted individual conducted himself under the unquestionable calamity which had befallen himself and his children. "He has been going about," writes Chapuys to Charles V., "banqueting with ladies, sometimes remaining after midnight, and returning by the river. Most part of the time he was accompanied by various musical instruments, and on the other hand by the singers of his chamber."² Arrangements were already in preparation for his speedy marriage with Jane Seymour, and the world knew it, and was amused or scandalized accordingly.

In the meantime, Anne, as yet in ignorance of the web which was being woven around her, remained in comparative peace at Greenwich. In the course of the evening of the 1st of May, however, she was made aware of the arrest of

¹ *Calend.* 876.

² *Id.* 908.

Smeton and Noreys. She did not know that so far back as the 24th of the previous month of April Henry had appointed commissioners invested with powers which enabled them to deal with such cases as that which now brought Anne under their immediate jurisdiction. When he framed it, he seems to have had some special foresight as to the purposes to which it might be applied. It enabled a quorum of four to inquire into every possible form of treason, for the trial of which a special session might be held. And due regard being had to the administration of criminal justice in the time of Henry VIII., especially in cases where the Crown was prosecutor, it is not difficult to foretell the probable fate of the accused. Of all this, however, the Queen was ignorant.

On the morning of the following day, Anne stood before the Council, with whose existence and powers she then for the first time became acquainted. She was told of the charges which had been brought against her, and was then arrested. At two o'clock, the tide then serving, she was brought by water to London, and consigned to the Tower by the Traitor's Gate, each bank of the river being densely crowded with spectators. She thus passed into the custody of Sir William Kingston, the constable, who, although devoted to the cause of Catherine, seems to have acted towards the prisoner with justice and kindness. Then, and not till then, her firmness and courage appear to have failed her. When she recovered her calmness, the thought of her religious duties reverted to her mind, and "she much desired to have here in the closet the Sacrament and also her almoner [chaplain] who she supposed to be devet" (?).¹

The mention of Anne's anxiety to have the presence of her chaplain recalls the memory of Cranmer, and we learn from a letter addressed by him to Cromwell that at this critical period of the Queen's history he was absent from London, and consequently could not be of any assistance to her. In obedience to the letter which he had received from Cromwell, he returned with all speed to Lambeth; but

¹ See No. 797. Sir Henry Ellis, 1 Ser. ii. 59, prints this word as if it were a proper name. In another letter Kingston tells Cromwell that at her arrival in the Tower Anne "begged that she might have the Sacrament in the closet by her chamber, that she might pray for mercy." (*Ibid.* No. 793.)

he did not dare to presume to come into the presence of His Majesty, as he himself tells us, "contrary to your Grace's commandment." It appears then that Henry needed the services of the Archbishop, but had no wish for his company. On the morning after his arrival in town the Archbishop addressed a letter to the King, which fortunately has been preserved, and which is worth our notice. He is in such a perplexity, he says, that his mind is clean amazed, for he never had better opinion in women that he had in the Queen, which makes him think that she should not be culpable; but on the other hand, he thinks that His Highness would not have gone so far except she had surely been culpable. So far he had preserved the balance with some skill, but now he may venture to speak with more decision, and he does so in his own peculiar fashion. He sees that with his Grace's favour he may wish and pray for her that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, he desires the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of all others. And here it is best to repeat his words as he wrote and signed them: "As I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and His Gospel, so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and His Gospel that will favour her, but must hate her above all other, and the more they favour the Gospel the more they will hate her, for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the Gospel; and God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed His Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed." After a few commonplace exhortations upon the duty of resignation to the holy will of God, Cranmer concluded his letter. But before he had despatched it, he received a mandate from the Council sitting in the Star Chamber at Westminster, which required him to appear before them. He went, and there they declared unto him such things as it was Henry's pleasure that they should make him privy unto.¹ His letter gives no further information as to what these matters were, or what passed between the parties, but we may infer that it was something which was to Anne's disadvantage, since he was "exceeding sorry that such faults can be proved

¹ *Letters*, p. 323, Edit. 1846; Burnet, i. 200.

against the Queen as he heard of their relation." And there the letter concludes, and Cranmer made no further effort to save the woman for whom he professed so much affection, and to whom (next unto the King) he was most bound of all creatures living. But perhaps it may be said that he left her to her fate because he thought her guilty. Was this his deliberate conviction? Upon this point we shall have a few words to say hereafter.

From this moment Anne seems to have been abandoned by her former friends and to have passed into the hands of her enemies. After considerable deliberation it was finally decided that out of those prisoners who had been originally charged along with her, five should be brought to trial. Of these the only direct evidence was that against Mark Smeton, who had already confessed his guilt; the other four, Weston, Brereton, Lord Rochford, and Noreys, were found guilty upon presumption without either proof or confession.¹ The whole proceedings were conducted with a marked disregard to justice. From a legal point of view, the evidence upon which Anne was condemned was most untrustworthy, and from a moral point of view it was most improbable. This much may be suggested and even admitted without at the same time contending that Anne had been either a faithful wife or a virtuous woman.

Her trial took place on Monday, May 15th, within the great hall of the Tower. The Duke of Norfolk, who presided, represented the King's person, and as such sat under a cloth of estate, holding a long, white staff in his hand. In addition to the lawyers, by whom the prosecution was conducted, the Lord Chancellor of England was in attendance. The Queen was brought in, and after she had been seated the indictment against her was read. She was unprovided with counsel and was not allowed to call any witnesses in her favour. Under such circumstances she could offer but a weak defence against the legal authorities arrayed against her. She defended herself with calmness and a certain amount of skill, "making so wise and discreet answers to all things laid against her, excusing herself with her words so clearly as though she had never been faulty."²

¹ Burnet, i. 202.

² Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, p. 38, Camd. Soc. p. 75; Friedmann, ii. 277.

From another source we learn that she stood undismayed; nor did she ever exhibit any token of impatience, or grief, or cowardice. Of course she was found guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon her, either by burning or beheading, at the King's pleasure. She retained her firmness, and after having declared that she did not fear death, she spoke a few words in vindication of the innocence of the persons who had been accused of having sinned along with her. She further asked to be allowed time "to settle her conscience" [by confession], and was then reconducted to her own chamber.¹

It may here be asked, Why was not Henry satisfied with a divorce? Why was Anne put to death? Why shed the blood of the woman who was the mother of his child, and for whom (at one time at least) he had expressed such ardent affection? But Henry is not to be judged according to the usual laws of human nature, for to these he was no longer amenable. He was a law to himself; and his will was his own infallible judge, from whom there was no appeal. Moreover he knew enough of Anne's spirit and temper to feel sure that if she were permitted to live she would be to him and to others a constant source of annoyance and possibly of danger. She would not follow the example of Catherine of Arragon and bear her cross as patiently as that noble woman had done. So all things considered death was the simplest and safest remedy, and Anne could not have been surprised when she heard her sentence pronounced.

But something further remained to be done before Henry could be satisfied that he had sufficiently degraded his wife and sufficiently secured his own interests. To do these things the services of Cranmer were once more called into requisition. On the day after her sentence of death had been pronounced, he had an interview with Anne in the Tower, with the details of which we are unacquainted, and can only speculate as to the object.² It seems probable, however, that he went by command of his master, and that his visit was preparatory to an event which occurred early in the morning of the following day. On that day he held a court in his chapel at Lambeth, the object of which was

¹ Chapuys to Charles, May 19, *Calend.* No. 908, p. 378. ² *Id.* No. 890.

to decide upon the validity of Anne's marriage with the King. His Majesty's legal representative was Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, while Nicholas Wotton and John Barbour appeared for the Queen. As far as we can gather from the report of what occurred, Anne's counsel pleaded nothing in her favour, nor do we learn from it what were the grounds upon which the dissolution of the marriage was pronounced. The report of the proceedings as they stand in the copy which has reached us, is open to grave suspicion, and no official duplicate of it appears to be extant. It is said to have been sealed upon the 10th of June, and subscribed by both Houses of Convocation upon the 28th of the same month.¹ It has been conjectured by one of the latest and most acute of Anne's biographers, that "the cause of nullity, which Henry was afraid to avow, was his former connection with Mary Boleyn."²

A few notices of the way in which Anne spent the last hours of her life have been preserved, and they are worth here recording. She is said to have prayed with her chaplain, but the keeper of the prison does not give his name. Bearing in mind Cranmer's long intercourse with the family, coupled with the manner in which he had so recently expressed himself about her to Henry, it might have been concluded that he would have stood by her in her extremity, and helped her to make her peace with God. But Cranmer, true to himself, was false to her, and left his place to be supplied by another. Kingston, her keeper, wondered that he had heard nothing of my Lord of Canterbury, and "the Queen," he adds, "desires much to be shriven." According to the report of the Imperial Ambassador, she confessed and communicated on the same day. He adds in the same letter, upon the authority of Lady Kingston, that before and after receiving the Sacrament, Anne had affirmed to her, upon the damnation of her soul, that she had never been unfaithful to the King.³ And Kingston adds that, upon the morning of Anne's execution, her almoner was continually with her, and had been so since two of the clock after midnight. As far as the Government

¹ Wilkins, *Conc.* iii. 803; *Calend.* No. 896.

² Friedmann, ii. 355.

³ Chapuys to Charles V. May 19, 1536, No. 908.

officials are concerned, the name of this almoner or chaplain has been suppressed ; yet before we conclude our story we shall be able to supply the omission. In the meantime we are sorry but not surprised to say that the missing name is not that of Cranmer.

From the beginning of Anne's imprisonment in the Tower, and probably long before that incident, her fate had been determined, and her execution had been delayed only in consequence of the absence of a fitting executioner. Henry had decided that she should be beheaded, according to the French custom, with the sword, and not as was usual in England, with the axe ; and had sent to St. Omer for a headsman, who had acquired considerable reputation as an expert operator. This individual did not arrive until nine days had elapsed, namely, upon May 18, and then she was given to understand that she would be executed on the following day. At the same time she was told to make her confession. An interesting and detailed account of what took place on the occasion, the narrative evidently of an eye-witness,¹ is given in a Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII. recently published, which has supplied us with the following graphic particulars.

"When Anne arrived on the scaffold, which had been erected within the Tower at her own request, in order that no foreigner should be present, it was expected that she should say something which might be construed into a confession, so as to exonerate Henry, but this she did not and would not do. On the contrary, she showed a devilish spirit, and was as gay as if she were not going to die. She was dressed in a night-robe of damask, with a red damask skirt and a netted coif over her hair. She was very graceful, and had a long neck, and when she mounted the scaffold she saw on it many gentlemen, the headsman being amongst them, who was dressed like the rest and not as an executioner ; and she looked around her on all sides to see the great number of people present ; for though she was executed inside [the Tower] there was a great crowd. They

¹ This is obvious from what he himself informs us presently. We learn from some particulars supplied by *The Month of May*, 1889, p. 5, that his name was Garzias.

would not admit any foreigner, except one who had got in the night before, and who took good note of all that passed.¹

"As the lady looked all around she began to say these words: 'Do not think, good people, that I am sorry to die, or that I have done anything to deserve this death. My fault has been my great pride, and the great crime I committed in inducing the King to leave my mistress, Queen Catherine, for my sake; and I pray God to pardon me for it. I say to you all that everything they have accused me of is false, and the principal reason I am to die is Jane Seymour, as I was the cause of the ill that befel my mistress.'

"The gentlemen would not let her say any more, and she asked which was the headsman. She was told that he would come presently, but that in the meantime it would be better for her to confess the truth and not to be so obstinate, for she could not hope for pardon. She answered them, 'I know I shall have no pardon, but they shall know no more from me.' So seeing that she would not confess, the headsman came and knelt before her, saying, 'Madam, I crave your Majesty's pardon, for I am ordered to do this duty; and I beg you to kneel and say your prayers.' So Anne knelt, but the poor lady only kept looking about her. The headsman, being still in front of her, said in French, 'Madam, do not fear, I will wait until you tell me.' Then she said, 'You will have to take this coif off;' and she pointed to it with her left hand. The sword was hidden under a heap of straw, and the man who was to give it to the headsman was told beforehand what to do: so, in order that she should not suspect, the headsman turned to the steps by which they had mounted, and called out, 'Bring me the sword!' The lady looked towards the steps to watch for the coming of the sword, still with her hand on her coif; and the headsman made a sign with his right hand for them to give him the sword, and then, without being noticed by the lady, he struck her head off on to the ground. And so ended this lady, who would never admit or confess the truth.

¹ See the previous note.

“ Her body was presently carried to the church within the Tower, and buried ; and a few days afterwards¹ her father died of grief for the loss of her and the Duke. God pardon them.”

During the course of the preceding remarks upon the trial and condemnation of Anne Boleyn, we have had occasion to observe more than once that the information respecting these events which has come down to us is not only scanty in extent but suspicious in character. The impression which it leaves upon the mind of most inquirers is this—that apparently in the present instance the accused had not even-handed justice dealt out to her, and that we know only one side of the question. Such is the dictum of common sense, and it is very generally accepted. The more closely we read the history of this bad woman, the more we are inclined to think that she was badly treated. Her life, repulsive and disgusting as it was at the time when we first become acquainted with her, gains new interest as it advances ; and as it draws near its inevitable conclusion, while we continue to hate the sin we begin to feel that we can pity the sinner. In this state of mind we wish we knew something more than the scanty details with which we are acquainted, even after the publication of the priceless despatches of Eustace Chapuys, for the abstracts of which we are indebted to the practised care of Mr. Gairdner of the Record Office. It is with no small satisfaction, therefore, that we have here been able to introduce into our narrative some additional information from the autograph narrative of one who was in London at the period of Anne’s death, and at the same time on terms of familiar intercourse with the Archbishop. The name of this individual was Alexander Ales, respecting whom the reader may naturally expect to receive some further information before we conclude this paper.

Alexander Ales was born at Edinburgh in the year 1500, and was educated in that city and in St. Andrew’s, in the University of which latter place he graduated in 1515. A few years afterwards he obtained a canonry in its Cathedral, but in 1530, having adopted the doctrines of Luther, he

¹ Anne’s father survived her for more than two years.

suffered imprisonment as a heretic ; contriving however to regain his liberty, he left his native country, to which he never returned. In the course of the following year we find him at Wittenberg, into the University of which he was incorporated in 1533. Here he became acquainted with Melancthon, and signed the Alliance of Augsburg against the Emperor and the Catholic party. In that same year he engaged in a discussion with Cochläus on the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which led to the publication of several volumes on both sides. As we have already stated, in 1535 he came into England provided with letters of recommendation from Melancthon to Henry and Cranmer, by the former of whom, as he himself informs us, he was sent to Cambridge, there to read a lecture upon the Hebrew Scriptures ; but this arrangement proving disagreeable to some of the authorities of the University, he returned to London, where he resided at the time of Anne's trial.

A stipend which had been granted to him by Henry having fallen into arrear, he made application for it to Cromwell, with which object he went to Greenwich, where he witnessed the scene which he has detailed so touchingly in his letter. Cromwell, he says, detained him for three years with empty hopes, but as the legislation against the Reformers grew more strict, his position in London became more than irksome. While in this state of mind Cranmer sent a message to him through Lord Paget, asking him to call at Lambeth early in the morning. When he went the Archbishop advised him to escape from England, wishing that he himself could do the same ; adding that he had signed the obnoxious decree through fear, and now repented him of what he had done. Cranmer said that he had no ready money, and could not supply what Ales would require for his travelling expenses ; but in token of his friendship he asked him to accept a ring which had been given to him by Henry when he presented the archbishopric to him, and which had once belonged to Thomas Wolsey. Ales escaped from England in a German ship, disguised as a German soldier. Shortly afterwards he heard of the execution of Cromwell, from whom, despite his promises, he had not received any of the arrears of his salary. In conclusion, he

exhorts Queen Elizabeth to love the true religion; and concludes his long letter with the significant postscript: "Should you wish to send me anything, this may be done by Bishop William Barlow, or by Dr. Bale." Our curiosity would be gratified if we could see Elizabeth's answer, but no trace of it has come down to us.

But we cannot conclude our present narrative without referring to two incidents connected with the history of Queen Anne Boleyn, for both of which we are indebted to the pen of this Alexander Ales. Respecting the former he tells us that he remained in his lodging in London, during the period from Anne's arrest until that of her execution [May 2—19]. On that latter day at two o'clock in the morning, he had a vision (whether he was asleep or awake he knew not) in which he saw Anne's neck, after her head had been cut off; and this (he says) was revealed to him so plainly that he could count the nerves, the veins, and the arteries. Terrified by the dream, or vision, he arose, and hurrying off to consult his friend the Archbishop, he arrived at Lambeth Palace before four o'clock in the morning. Early as it was he found Cranmer at that hour walking in his garden, whom he made acquainted with what had been manifested to him. Cranmer continued in silent wonder for a time, and at last broke out into these words: "Do not you know what is to happen to-day?" And when I answered (continued Ales) that I had remained at home since the date of the Queen's imprisonment, and knew nothing of what was going on, the Archbishop raised his eyes to heaven and said, "She who has been the Queen of England upon earth, will to-day become a Queen in Heaven." So great was his grief that he could say nothing more, and then he burst into tears.

Leaving Cranmer sobbing hysterically in his garden at four o'clock in the morning of the day on which Queen Anne was to die, let us think for a moment of what was passing at that time in the Tower. She had made her confession and received her Communion, and was preparing to meet her Judge. It is Ales who tells us who was with her during these early morning watches, and we have seen that it was not Cranmer; from the same informant we now learn that for these offices of Christian charity she was

indebted to Latimer,¹ whom we know to have been one of the most vehement of the Reformers, but apparently one of the most sincere and assuredly one of the most courageous. Anne had "been in the habit of confessing to him when she went to the Lord's Table," and she had sent for him when she knew that she should die shortly afterwards. He had not been afraid to obey the summons, and he had been with her from two o'clock in the morning until she had been summoned to mount the scaffold.

Here then we end our notice of Cranmer. To attempt to anticipate our readers as to the conclusion at which they ought to arrive respecting his character is unnecessary, and would be unbecoming. Cranmer has written his autobiography, and he is the best historian of himself. In him the Church of England has an undignified prototype, of whom, however, we have no wish to deprive her. As far as we are concerned his successors may enjoy his name in undisturbed quiet; for assuredly we should not condescend to accept at any price the tradition which they inherit from "the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury."

The facts for which the authority of Ales is here quoted are derived from a very interesting letter of twenty pages, addressed by him to Queen Elizabeth upon her accession to the throne, the original of which, in his own handwriting, is preserved in the Record Office, Chancery Lane. It is fully described in the Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth under the date of September, 1559, No. 1,303. It seems to have escaped notice until now, but, should it be necessary, additional details can be furnished respecting it.

¹ In a document quoted in the Calendar, Feb. 29, 1536, No. 371, he is spoken of as "the Queen's chaplain." But as he had not been appointed by Henry the authorities at the Tower did not recognize this title.

The Pallium.

BY THE REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THE solemn reception of the pallium by a new Archbishop of Westminster has been an event of rare occurrence during the forty-one years of the existence of the English Hierarchy. When Cardinal Wiseman was enthroned in St. George's Cathedral in December, 1850, he was already in possession of the archiepiscopal insignia, having received them two months before from the hands of Pius IX., the very day that he issued his famous letter from the Flaminian Gate. In the case of Archbishop Manning also, the pallium was conferred in Rome. He had received episcopal consecration in June, 1865, proceeded to Italy in the autumn of that year, and was enthroned in the then Pro-Cathedral of Moorfields immediately on his return. Archbishop Vaughan, if rumour speaks correctly, will await the Papal Envoy in London. If so, it will come to pass that for the first time since Cardinal Pole was invested with the pallium in Bow Church on Lady Day, 1556, a ceremony will be witnessed on English soil, the primary object of which is to acknowledge "that the power of an Archbishop is held solely of Christ's Vicar, the

Roman Pontiff.”¹ In view of this exceptional occasion, it has seemed worth while to publish in an easily accessible form some account of this most significant portion of the archiepiscopal insignia. Even for Anglicans the subject cannot be wholly devoid of interest, for by an anomaly hardly less curious than the retention of the *Fidei Defensor* in the legend of our coinage, the pallium, despite its avowed meaning and historical associations, remains to this day the most conspicuous object in the arms of the see of Canterbury.²

One remark it is necessary to make before we plunge into our subject. There are few points in ecclesiastical archæology which have been more keenly disputed than the origin and early history of the pallium, and it may be frankly admitted that we cannot pretend in this matter to anything like absolute certainty. At the same time, opinion for some years past has been gravitating strongly in one direction, and the view here set down, which was supported in the seventeenth century by De Marca and Thomassinus, has lately received the support of a scholar whose authority in the matter is of great

¹ Pole's own words in his impromptu sermon; see *Venetian Calendar*, 1556, vol. i. Letter of Marc Antonio Faitta, p. 428; and Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iv. pp. 556, seq., but the first account of this interesting letter was published by James Laird Patterson, the present Bishop of Emmaus, in his *Tour in Palestine*, &c. (1852), p. 381.

² There is no pallium in the arms of the see of York, and the tiara above the cross keys has now been replaced by a royal crown. For both Dublin and Armagh the pallium has been retained, and the only point of difference between these two coats of arms lies in the number of crosses with which the palliums are ornamented. Dublin has four and Armagh five.

weight, the learned editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*.¹ The agreement of the Abbé Duchesne, of M. C. Rohault de Fleury,² of W. B. Marriott,³ and many others, approaching the subject from such different points of view, alone forms a presumption not lightly to be set aside, while the opposition to their verdict seems to be chiefly of a negative character.⁴ It would defeat the object of this paper to enter into any minute discussion of technical details, and it will be better therefore to take Duchesne's theory in general for granted. If any reader should desire to examine the question more fully, the authorities referred to in the notes will supply information about all the conflicting opinions.

Among the most costly, if not the most interesting, of the ivories of the South Kensington collection, are two or three fine specimens of consular diptychs. A Greek or Roman diptych, it may be necessary to explain, consists of two sheets of ivory or metal hinged together like the boards of a book-cover. The insides of these covers were intended for writing upon, and the word diptych is used by late classical authors as the equivalent of a pair of tablets, in other words, a note-book. From Constantine to Justinian the use of the word was almost confined to two special classes of objects, to wit, ecclesiastical and consular diptychs. With the ecclesiastical diptychs, the tablets upon which were written the names of the living and the dead prayed for or

¹ Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris, 1889), pp. 372, seq.

² *La Messe*, vol. viii. (Paris, 1889), pp. 45, seq.

³ *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 237.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Krieg in Kraus' *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Pallium.

commemorated in the Mass, we are not at present concerned. The consular diptychs were similar in form, but were primarily mere ornaments given by the consuls nominated for each year as presents to their friends in commemoration of their tenure of office. The ivory plates of which they are composed were richly decorated, and, as the visitor to South Kensington may ascertain for himself, they generally represented the consul in whose honour they were carved, seated in his curule chair and presiding at the public games. Doubtless the proudest moment in the life of a noble Roman under the Empire was that when enthroned in state before the assembled thousands he gave the signal by dropping his *mappula circensis* (a sort of handkerchief) for the starting of the great chariot-race. This at any rate is the attitude in which he preferred to be depicted, and the elaborate carving of most of our extant specimens makes it clear that a considerable sum must have been spent in the gratification of this particular form of vanity.

Illustrating as they do an epoch in the development or decadence of ivory-carving, the consular diptychs are of course very valuable, but it is as a record of official costume in the fifth and sixth centuries that they are of interest in connection with our present subject. Strange to say, it is a record which it is not in all respects easy to read. The number of examples preserved to us is by no means inconsiderable.¹ The extant specimens, whether

¹ In his admirable paper on extant diptychs amongst the *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* for 1879, W. Meyer, with German

Eastern or Western in origin, represent an almost identical arrangement of garments. Yet an examination of the diptychs figured in Gori's large collection is apt to leave the student in a good deal of perplexity as to points of detail.¹ But combining the data thus obtained with what we know from the literature of the period, and following the guidance of those who have given long attention to the subject, we arrive at certain broad conclusions which are sufficiently exact for present purposes.

The official costume then of the consuls on such solemn occasions seems to have consisted essentially of three articles of attire. First of all there was a rather close-fitting tunic, or under-garment, hidden from view for the most part, but at the same time easily distinguishable, as it hangs down almost to the feet, and peeps out unmistakably below the rest of the dress. Secondly, an upper garment of some sort, probably the *pænula*, or military cloak. This would seem to have been a covering of ample dimensions, either square or circular in form, and some ten feet in diameter—a sort of poncho, in fact, with a hole in the centre through which the head was passed. It may be added that difficulties are not wanting to this view, for the consular diptychs indicate that the upper garment fitted the body more closely than a poncho would naturally do. Still it is possible that the modelling of the folds in these cases

thoroughness, enumerates thirty-six specimens of consular diptychs, ranging from that of the Consul Probus in A.D. 406, to that of Basilius in 541. Of these twenty-seven are dated. M. Héron de Villefosse (see article in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1884, since published separately) has been able to add one or two more to the list.

¹ Gori, *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*.

is to some extent conventional. Finally, the consul wore over all the rest a *lorus* (λωρός), or richly-embroidered scarf, which was wound round the person in a peculiar way, hanging down vertically in front, passing over either shoulder, and crossing the



DIPTYCH OF ANASTASIUS.

(Consul of the East, A.D. 517, South Kensington Museum.)

body from under the right arm until the end is clasped in the left hand, or thrown over the left wrist.¹

¹ I give these details on the authority of Duchesne, but I may confess that my own sympathies go rather with the theory of W. Meyer, *Abhandlungen*, &c. loc. cit. pp. 23—27. He calls the inner garment a body-coat, or smock (*leibrock*), and the outer a *tunica*. What Duchesne describes as one long scarf (*écharpe*), he divides into two separate articles—a sort of broad band, and a plaid, although he thinks that the

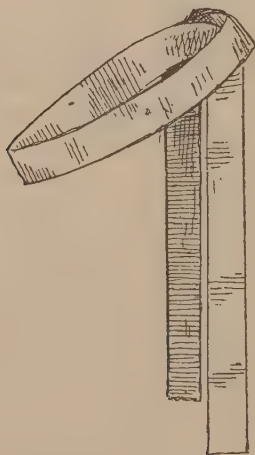
On the precise nature of this last garment, it is not easy to speak confidently. The part which hangs down in front does not appear to be much wider than any ordinary scarf, such as, for instance, is worn by French officials, or by workmen demonstrating in Hyde Park. In crossing the body, however, it is made to spread out somewhat, just as if its narrow compass in the beginning was due to its having been folded together like a Scotch plaid. But whatever may have been the arrangement which produces this effect, the *lorus* is a conspicuous object in all the diptychs, and it is possible that some of the difficulty found in tracing out its details may be due to the exaggeration of the designers wishing to display the peculiar sumptuousness given to this part of the attire on ceremonial occasions.

Moreover, if we compare the *lorus* of the diptychs with the dress of some of the officials represented upon the Arch of Constantine, we find them wearing a decoration which leaves no reasonable doubt of its identity with the former, although its shape is in every way simpler and more readily intelligible.

Now my excuse for entering into all these details must be the fact that the three articles of attire of which there is here question are of primary import-

name *trabea* attaches to the two conjointly. However, he quite recognizes the importance and significance of this embroidered band hanging down from the left shoulder, and passing round the neck, and indeed he expressly stipulates for the existence of an unembroidered counterpart to this worn by certain senators and others who had no claim to the triumphal form of the *trabea*. It should be noted that in the example depicted above the band seems to pass over the right shoulder first. In other extant specimens this arrangement is reversed, and it passes first over the left shoulder.

ance in every study of the origin of liturgical vestments. The *tunica*, or under-garment, has become the alb, and has also probably developed in another direction into the dalmatic and tunic worn by the Bishop, as well as by deacon and subdeacon. The *pænula*, or upper-garment, is familiar to us in the chasuble, the Mass-vestment *par excellence*, which in its Greek name at least, *φαινόλιον* (*φαινόλης* = *pænula*),



FROM THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

clearly recalls the military cloak of the Romans. Lastly, the *lorus*, or official scarf, is identical, according to the theory here followed, with the archiepiscopal pallium. That it should also in Duchesne's view have another representative in the stole worn by all the superior clergy is no objection to the direct, and so to speak, more legitimate descent of the pallium from the same source. Finally, it may be added for

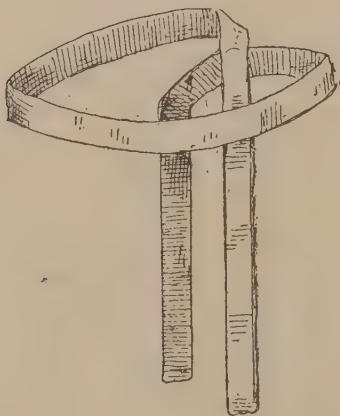
completeness' sake, that even the *mappula circensis*, the rolled-up handkerchief which so many of the diptychs represent the consul as holding in his hand, has its liturgical counterpart in the maniple, formerly a *sudarium*, or napkin, which as a matter of convenience, came, in some intermediate stage of its development, to be permanently attached to the wearer's wrist.

Returning however to our more immediate subject, it should be noted that our information about the earliest use of the pallium comes to us from two different channels—from the monuments of early Christian art and from historical documents. In neither case can we go back with certainty beyond the fifth century, and for indubitable examples of the ecclesiastical use of the pallium preserved in works of art, we are probably not justified in assigning them quite such a high antiquity even as this. It is true that Padre Garrucci¹ believes that he finds representations of the pallium in some glass vessels of the fourth century depicting Popes Callixtus and Marcellinus arrayed in a sort of square tippet covering the shoulders, and fastened with a *fibula* under the breast. But this identification obviously derives all its validity from the theory adopted by him as to the origin of the Archbishop's distinctive ornament, and no resemblance can be traced between this short cloak and the narrow woollen band with which we are now familiar.

For the historical form of the vestment, therefore, the earliest satisfactory example is probably to be found in the celebrated ivory tablet of Treves, a

¹ *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, vol. i. pp. 96, seq. and Plate 188.

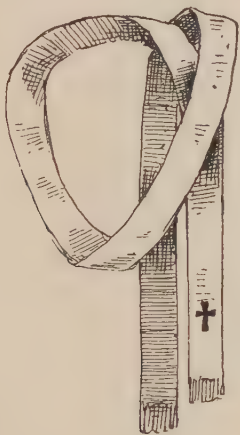
photographic reproduction of which, borrowed from Father Clarke's volume upon the Holy Coat, is prefixed to the present essay. This monument of Christian art in the sixth or seventh century represents, it is supposed, the bringing of the relics of the Passion to Treves at the instance of the Empress St. Helena. Two figures seated side by side in a chariot hold up between them a casket shaped like



PALLIUM IN THE TREVES IVORY.

a reliquary. Their dress is distinguished from that of the other figures in the composition by one notable peculiarity. A narrow band or scarf runs loosely round the neck of each, one end of which falls from the left shoulder, while the other seems to be thrown behind the back. If it were not for the markedly ecclesiastical character of the carving in which we see the head of our Saviour adorned with the nimbus looking out from an upper window, together with

children swinging thuribles, a large cross in the hands of a female figure, and the two gable ends of a church, we might have supposed that the occupants of the chariot were consuls arrayed in the *lorus*. But all the surroundings suggest that we should recognize in these figures two bishops wearing the pallium.¹ Moreover, the band with which they are decorated does not cross *under* the right arm as in the *lorus* of



ROMAN MOSAIC OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

the Arch of Constantine. It passes on the contrary over the right shoulder, and thus reproduces exactly

¹ The prominence given to the pallium in this ivory, probably itself the panel of a reliquary, is thought not to be without a special significance, for Treves was for a time a simple bishopric with the privilege of using the pallium. Tradition declared that St. Maternus, the first Bishop of Treves, had received it from St. Peter himself. This is regarded by Mgr. Vespasiani, *De Sacri Pallii Origine*, p. 41, as a singular confirmation of his theory that the pallium was originally the representation of an actual garment worn by St. Peter.

the arrangement of the early Roman pallium, the same in fact which is observed in the Greek Episcopal ὀμοφόριον even to the present day. What makes this example in the Treves ivory so satisfactory is there-



MOSAIC AT CLASSE (RAVENNA).

fore its complete accordance with the undoubted pallia represented in the mosaics of Ravenna belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries, as well as those of St. Agnes outside Rome. The only change that we notice is that the white band in passing from

the right to the left shoulder drops much lower upon the breast than it does in the Treves ivory.

And here our literary records come in to supplement the information which we derive from the monuments of Christian art. John the Deacon, writing in the ninth century, and describing a contemporary portrait of St. Gregory the Great preserved in his own day, thus speaks of the pallium he is wearing: "A narrow pallium falls from the right shoulder and passes to the left, drooping below the breast in a semicircle. One end is thrown back over the left shoulder, the other hangs straight down from the same shoulder, not in the middle of the body, but at the side."¹ Now not only does this description exactly accord with the Ravenna mosaics (see the figure on the opposite page), but it suggests clearly enough the change which had come to pass in the arrangement of the woollen band by the time when John was writing. It is plain that he is surprised that the extremities hang at the side and not in the centre. By the beginning of the tenth century, as indeed we learn from contemporary paintings and illuminations, the pallium had assumed substantially its present shape. It was a collar with a lappet in the centre before and a lappet opposite to it behind. To John's eyes the old arrangement, even now maintained in the palliums of the Greek Church, looked strange and outlandish.

Perhaps the matter can be made clear to a reader who may never have seen a pallium, if he considers it in this way. Take a band of ribbon about ten feet long and pin the middle of it over the right

¹ *Vita S. Gregorii*, bk. iv. c. 84.

shoulder. Then let the two ends be brought one before and one behind to the left shoulder, festooning slightly upon chest and back like the curve of a gentleman's watch chain. There let them cross and fasten them with a pin. This represents, though not quite accurately, the older form of the pallium. The two festoons across the breast and back form together a sort of circular collar, the extremities hang freely from the left shoulder in front and behind. But now take these two pendent extremities after they have crossed, and bring them back, to the middle of the chest and back respectively, thus doubling the left half of the two festoons. Stitch them fast in that position and let the ends fall freely. We have still the same collar, the left half of it of double thickness,¹ but now the extremities hang down in the centre, and as we look either from in front or behind, the ribbon forms roughly the shape of a Y.² The transition stage is clearly seen in the annexed fancy portrait

¹ Compare the rubrics for putting on the pallium in the *Cæremoniale*, now hardly intelligible. Durandus and other writers attach a special symbolism to the left side of the pallium being two-fold. It signifies, they say, the contradictions and complexities of the present life, as contrasted with the simplicity of the life to come, typified by the right side.

² It will be readily understood that if the collar-part of the pallium is contracted, it must sit tight, and almost square across the shoulders, without any festooning. In this case we have no longer a Y shaped, but a T shaped pallium—a very common form in the middle ages. An intermediate form is seen on pages 16 and 17. The pendent ends are generally long, reaching almost to the ground. Sometimes the crosses on these pallia are very numerous, sometimes they do not appear at all. Probably the woollen pallium was then enclosed in a jewelled silk covering. But the variations of mediæval pallia can best be studied in the plates of Rohault de Fleury's *La Messe*, vols. vii. and viii.

of St. Gregory from Stuttgart. It is in this double Y shape that the modern pallium has long been worn. There have been some slight changes during the last thousand years in its length and in the number and colour of the crosses. The material, as we shall see,



MINIATURE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.
(*From a Psalter at Stuttgart.*)

is wool, the crosses, now six in number, are of purple so dark as to be indistinguishable from black. The pallium is fastened¹ with pins in front, behind, and

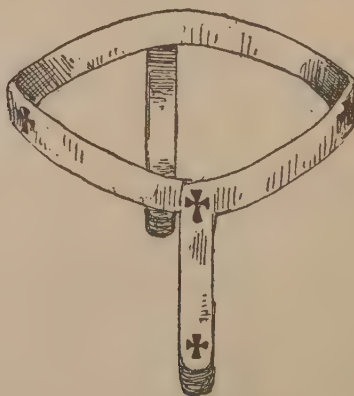
¹ As a matter of fact there is no fastening ; the jewelled pin simply passes through the cross of the pallium in three places where loops or eye-holes are made, without touching the chasuble below.

on the left shoulder. The two ends are slightly



MEDIÆVAL PALLIUM, A.D. 1139.

weighted with little pieces of sheet lead covered with silk, in order that the lappet may hang in its proper



MODERN PALLIUM.

position, since otherwise a sudden movement might flutter and disarrange it.

It may be interesting to give here an illustration of the seal of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in which the Archbishop is represented wearing his pallium. The ornamental appearance of the band is note-



worthy, as well as the absence of crosses, and it is difficult to suppose that the engraver of an official seal can have given us a wholly unfaithful picture of it. Similar characteristics are conspicuous in other pallia of the same epoch—*e.g.* that of Richard of Avranches (1171–89), of Hugh of Rouen (1153), &c.

But we must turn back now and review the first traces left us of the use of the pallium in our historical records. Passing by the instances in which it still retains its classical sense of a large and voluminous garment, the Greek *ἱμάτιον*, which in Tertullian's time seems to have become the distinctive dress of those given up to serious studies, and on this account to have been adopted by the African Christians,¹ we hear of the ecclesiastical pallium for the first time in the West in connection with the Pope Marcus († 351), who is said in the *Liber Pontificalis*, to have bestowed the pallium upon the Bishop of Ostia. Probably this is an allusion which cannot be depended upon, but in the concession of the pallium to St. Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, by Pope Symmachus (498–514), we strike firmer ground. Shortly afterwards, in the time of Pope Vigilius, Auxanius, one of the successors of Cæsarius, besought the Pontiff that the use of the pallium might also be granted to him. The two extant letters of Vigilius which deal with this petition are important for the understanding of the early history of this *insigne*.² Vigilius writes back to Auxanius that he cannot venture upon such a step without consulting the Emperor Justinian. And some time afterwards, when he had obtained the favour by the intercession of Belisarius, he at once wrote off to impress upon Auxanius the duty of thanking Belisarius and of

¹ Cf. Tertullian's treatise, *De Pallio*. M. Abel, in his *Étude sur le Pallium*, suggests pertinently that *lorus*=*ἵμας*=*ἱμάτιον*=pallium.

² Why, we may ask, should English writers be debarred from the use of the singular of insignia? In the chief continental languages it seems to be permissible and even common.

offering up prayers for the Emperor and Empress, who had graciously acceded to his wishes in this matter.¹ In the time of St. Gregory we have several examples of the Pope conferring this honour upon different bishops, one memorable case being that of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury. Sometimes it would seem as if the Pontiff acted solely upon his own responsibility; on other occasions he appeared to think it necessary to obtain the Imperial permission. Duchesne believes that leave was especially needed when the recipient was not a subject of the Greek Empire; but whatever the distinction may have been, he agrees with Thomassinus² and others in thinking that the fact of the Emperor's having anything to say to it points significantly to the Imperial origin of the pallium, as a distinction conferred in the first instance by the sovereign upon the Pope himself, and then transmitted by the Pontiff to his representatives.

There seems indeed to be no reasonable ground for rejecting this explanation. As we have already seen, the ecclesiastical pallium bears the closest external resemblance to the *lorus* worn by certain State officials. It is quite natural in itself to suppose that the early Christian Emperors may have wished to bestow some decoration upon the Supreme Head of the Church, and it is not unlikely that the Pope may have been able, with due subordination to the

¹ Migne, *P. L.* lxi. pp. 27, 28. It may be, however, that the Emperor's consent was chiefly required for the "other matters" spoken of in the first letter. The concession of the pallium is clearly made as something given by the Pope, not the Emperor.

² *Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, vol. ii. pp. 369, seq.

Imperial approval, to communicate to others the honour which he had himself received.¹ That a very high significance should afterwards have attached to the conferring of this emblem, not contemplated by those who originally bestowed it, is hardly matter for surprise. On the contrary, it is a fact which meets us repeatedly in the history of Christian symbolism. Indeed, there are probably very few of the material objects or external rites consecrated to the Church's worship, which were consciously selected for the exact purpose which, under the Providence of God, they have now come to serve. There is no need to appeal in this matter to the forged donation of Constantine; and De Marca, who originally maintained the identity of the pallium with the consular *lorus*, would have been the first to repudiate such an argument. But without going back so far as Constantine, the Abbé Duchesne thinks we have reasonable grounds for throwing back the first concession of the pallium to the Popes as early as the beginning of the fifth century. The feebleness of the Imperial rule in Italy, and its collapse before the barbarians in the years that followed, the breach between the Empire and the Church, which lasted until the time when we find Pope Symmachus already conferring the pallium upon Cæsarius of Arles, make

¹ It is worth while to point out that the wearing of "*discolora pallia*" is mentioned as a privilege of certain subordinate officials in the Theodosian code. The statement in the forged donation of Constantine that the Emperor conceded to the Pope the "*superhumerales, videlicet lorum, qui imperiale circumdare assolet collum,*" goes of course for little or nothing, though the forgery may be somewhat older than is generally supposed.

it difficult to find a moment when the Popes could have acquired this distinction if they did not receive it then.

Dismissing, however, the question of origin, and returning once more to the region of historical fact, we find that in the time of St. Gregory the Great the bestowal of the pallium is regarded by him as a matter of grave importance to a degree which it is not now easy to explain. St. Gregory wrote to John, who occupied the see of Ravenna from 575 to 595, rebuking him, on the evidence of certain information which had been laid before him, for having introduced into his Church practices contrary to the humility of the priestly office. Whereas he (John) only had the right to wear the pallium on leaving the sacristy, during the time of Mass, he had contravened this usage, which was general throughout the Church, by wearing it also in the streets on the occasion of the litanies. How could he have ventured to wear this decoration during a penitential season, and to have paraded it in public places even in the midst of an unruly crowd? He could not be ignorant that no Archbishop ever wore the pallium outside of Mass, and indeed he had expressly recognized this in his letters to the Pope, his predecessor. If any special privilege had been accorded to the Church of Ravenna, then let him show his titles; if not, he must conform to the general usage. And why, pray, his anxiety to display the pallium, when there was no ornament that adorned more splendidly the neck of a bishop than the practice of humility? John replied by protestations of submission, assuring the Pope that he was only vested in his pallium by

the senior deacon at the beginning of Mass and during the solemn litanies.¹

After the death of John, application was made for the pallium by his successor, Marinianus ; Gregory concedes it, and repeats that it ought only to be worn during Mass and four times a year outside the church during the litanies. But the whole business seems to have absorbed a wonderful amount of his time and thoughts. Not content with corresponding directly with the Archbishop of Ravenna, he writes off to the notary, Castorius ; he makes minute inquiries about customs, asks if it is true that the pallium was worn at Ravenna during the litanies in former times, and he cross-questions the deacons, Florentinus and Adeodatus.²

In a second letter to the notary Castorius,³ he returns to the subject. He has heard that at Ravenna, excepting during Lent, the Bishop wore the pallium at all seasons and every day. He is extremely surprised, and asks Castorius to make minute inquiries into the matter. He is to do this without acceptance of persons, having nothing but justice and the fear of God before his eyes. He bids him consult the older men, the archdeacon in particular, who will certainly not perjure himself for the vain-glory of another, and the seniors among the clergy, who had already received Holy Orders before the time of that presumptuous Bishop John. Let them come together before the body of St. Apollinaris, and with their hands upon his tomb, let them declare under oath what the customs were in those days.

¹ Migne, *P.L.* vol. lxxvii. pp. 651, 655 ; Rohault de Fleury, viii. pp. 49, 50. ² *Ib.* p. 789. ³ *Ib.* p. 825.

He (the Pope) is well aware of the zeal of Castorius, he begs him none the less to be upon his guard, not to allow himself to be led aside from his singleness of purpose, and at the same time to act in such a way that the Church of Ravenna may suffer no injustice, but retain all its ancient privileges. He wishes on the one hand to infringe no established right, but on the other to make no new concessions. It is therefore not merely the evidence of one or two witnesses that he requires, but the testimony of all the oldest and most respected of the clergy. He recommends that no harshness should be shown in any of his proceedings, and ends by setting down a form of oath, a very solemn oath, which names each Person of the Blessed Trinity, and appeals to the sacred relics of St. Apollinaris, to be taken by each witness in giving his evidence.¹

To this summary of St. Gregory's procedure in the case of the Church of Ravenna, I cannot help adding a few sentences from the letter addressed by him to St. Augustine, the Apostle of Britain, in the year 601. It contains the first concession of the pallium to an English Archbishop and is truly, as a modern writer has well called it,² the Charter of the ancient English Hierarchy. The reader will notice how clearly the Pope's language implies that the power to consecrate and to retain jurisdiction over other bishops is bound up with the possession of the pallium.

¹ *Ib.* p. 845.

² Father Sydney Smith in his *Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism*, p. 73 (Catholic Truth Society), who treats very fully and ably the dogmatic significance of the pallium.

Since the new Church of the English has been brought to the grace of Almighty God, through the favour of the same Lord and your labours, we grant you the use of the pallium to be used in it (the English Church) exclusively at the solemn celebration of the Mass; in order that you may ordain for as many places twelve bishops, who shall be subject to your rule, but so that the Bishop of the City of London¹ may in future be consecrated by his own Synod, and receive the pallium of office (*honoris*) from this Holy Apostolic See, to which, by God's ordinance, I minister.

St. Gregory then goes on to arrange for the consecration of an Archbishop of York, "that he also may ordain twelve bishops and enjoy the dignity of a metropolitan; for, if spared, we propose, with the Divine permission, to give him also the pallium," determining, at the same time, that the primacy is to remain with the southern archbishopric.

In view of the great importance which St. Gregory evidently attached to the vestment we are discussing, which is shown not merely in his correspondence with St. Augustine and the Archbishop of Ravenna, but also from many other passages in his letters, it is a little surprising to find that a decree of the Synod of Macon in 581, takes it for granted that every bishop, in Gaul at least, had the right to wear the pallium. Let no bishop, it is there enacted in the Sixth Canon, presume to celebrate Mass without the pallium.² In the East of course this was the

¹ St. Gregory seems at the time to have intended that the southern province should take its title from London.

² The printed text of the decree as it appears even in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. p. 33, says every *Archbishop*, but Duchesne shows, *Origines*, p. 373, that the manuscript copies have *Bishop*.

privilege of all bishops, and so it still remains until the present day, neither can there be any doubt as to the identity of the Greek ὠμοφόριον, which has hardly changed at all from the earliest representations of it found in the mosaics of St. Sophia, with the ancient Latin pallium so minutely described for us by John the Deacon. With regard to the Canon of Macon, however, there is sound reason for supposing¹ that the word pallium may not have the same signification which it bears in the letters of St. Gregory, but may possibly denote another vestment, the episcopal *rationale*, for instance. If we are to believe, as Duchesne gives us good reason for thinking, that the stole itself had no other origin, it does not seem unnatural to suppose that there may have been a certain amount of uncertainty at this early period both in the use of the vestments themselves and in the names by which they were denoted.²

But even though we refrain from laying stress, as we might justly do, upon the strong expressions used by St. Gregory, nothing can be clearer or more precise than the ideas about the pallium which we find universally prevailing in the West, a few centuries later. Whether there is really adequate evidence to show that Bishop Maurus of Ravenna in the seventh century had the pallium conceded to him not by the Pope but by the Emperor Constans II., I do not here pretend to inquire. Certain it is that from the time

¹ See Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, ii. p. 217.

² That the word *orarium*, which usually means stole, was sometimes employed in the sense of pallium is proved by Duchesne in his notes to the *Liber Pontificalis*, i. p. 481, cf. pp. 354, 472. At an earlier period it seems often to mean no more than handkerchief. In this sense some identify it with the present amice.

of St. Boniface onwards we have abundant proofs in official documents and otherwise, of the agreement of all Christendom not only as to the nature of the pallium itself and the method of obtaining it, but also as to the significance attached to its bestowal. This is not the place to examine these proofs, they may be found set forth with more or less fulness of treatment in Thomassinus,¹ Ruinart,² Phillips,³ &c.

That the pallium was to be obtained only of the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, was acknowledged in the General Synod of the Franks held in 745 under the presidency of St. Boniface,⁴ that it symbolized the fulness of the pontifical office is attested by the words of the Eighth General Synod in 870. Pope Nicholas in his celebrated answer to the Bulgarians (866), laid it down that an Archbishop could not lawfully exercise any ecclesiastical function except the celebration of Mass until he had received the pallium, and the Synod of Ravenna a few years later enacted that each Metropolitan should make application to the Holy See for this significant emblem of jurisdiction within three months of his consecration. In view of modern Anglican theories of continuity, it is interesting to note that the French canonist, Thomassinus, writing in the seventeenth century, draws his most conspicuous examples of the dependence upon Rome symbolized by the pallium from the history of the Church, not in his own country, but in England.

¹ *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, vol. ii. bk. ii. c. 53, seq.

² In Mabillon, *Ouvrages Posthumes*, vol. ii. pp. 397—554.

³ *Kirchenrecht*, vol. v. pp. 615—661.

⁴ Ep. 105. Cf. Hefele, *Beiträge*, ii. p. 217.

Let me follow his example by setting down here the form of oath taken by an English Archbishop on receiving "the pallium taken from the body of blessed Peter, that is to say, the fulness of the pontifical office."¹

I, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, from this hour forward, will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, to the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, to my Lord Pope Celestine and his successors canonically entering. I will not join in any counsel or agreement or deed to deprive them of life or limb, or to bring them into captivity. I will disclose to no one any counsel which may have been entrusted to me, whether by themselves or their nuncios, or by letters, in any way which to my knowledge will cause harm. I will give aid, saving my order [*i.e.*, so far as the canons which forbid bloodshed to an ecclesiastic permit], to defend and to maintain against every man the Papacy of the Roman Church and the royalty of St. Peter; when called to a Synod I will come unless hindered by a canonical impediment. I will treat with honour the Legate of the Apostolic See in his coming and returning, and I will help him in his needs. I will visit the thresholds of the Apostles every three years, either in person or by deputy, unless I be absolved by apostolic dispensation. The possessions which appertain to my episcopal board, I will not sell or give away, or pledge, or enfeoff afresh, or alienate in any way without having first consulted the Roman Pontiff. So may God help me and these holy Gospels.

¹ These are the significant words of the form used in delivering it. I borrow the translation which follows from Father Sydney Smith's *Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism*, p. 9. The original is in Wilkins, vol. ii. p. 199, and was drawn up for Archbishop Winchelsey. This oath is now taken by every bishop at his consecration.

These formulæ do not differ very substantially from those now in use, or indeed from any of which we have record. The central idea prominent in all alike is the avowal that the pallium embodies that plenitude and completion of spiritual powers without which, to quote the words of Pope Innocent III., "the Metropolitan may not lawfully ordain clerics, consecrate bishops, dedicate churches or assume the title of archbishop." The same acknowledgment is made in the formula of application. I give that now actually prescribed by ecclesiastical law :

I, N., elect of the Church of N., petition urgently, more urgently, most urgently, that there may be conceded and transmitted to me a pallium taken from the body of blessed Peter, in which is the fulness of the pontifical office.

It is not possible, from the defective nature of our records, to pronounce with confidence how the connection between the pallium and the fulness of the pontifical office was first established. There can be no doubt, however, that the development of this idea was considerably influenced by an interesting bit of mediæval symbolism. From an early period the woollen bands which the Pontiff was to confer as a mark of his confidence and affection, were laid for a night upon the tomb of the holy Apostles, previous to being transmitted to their recipients.¹ In this way

¹ The ceremony of "watching the pallia" (*vigilare pallia*) was performed in the middle ages by the Canons of St. Peter's and was observed with considerable solemnity. The bodily comfort of the watchers was not forgotten, and regulations were laid down that they were to be provided with spiced wine (*claretum optimis aromatibus conditum*). See Catalani, *Cæremoniale*, i. p. 243.

they had become, it was considered, truly relics. For one night at least St. Peter had slept under the shelter of this garment. The pallium was now his cloak, and just as Elias, carried up to heaven in the fiery chariot, had left his mantle behind in the hands of his disciple Eliseus, in token of his succession to the powers of the prophetic office, in the same way, the reception of the "pallium taken from the body of blessed Peter" was the indispensable condition for the exercise of the pastoral functions conferred by him to whom it was said: "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep."¹ Moreover, there was an especial appropriateness in the nature of the garment itself. It was woven of pure wool, it was laid upon the shoulders, it was marked with a cross. Even as far back as the days of Isidore of Pelusium in the fifth century, the idea was current in the Eastern Church that the ὁμοφῆριον betokened the lost sheep which our Saviour carried home upon His shoulders; and by St. Germanus of Constantinople (715), and other writers in East and West, this thought was preserved and developed. But to enter fully into the symbolism elaborated by mediæval writers out of this fruitful theme would require far more space than is at my disposal here. Let me be content to quote a few sentences from the treatment of the subject by Durandus and Pope Innocent III. as a typical example of the ingenuity with which every liturgical detail is made instinct with hidden meanings.²

¹ Cf. Cardinal von Geissel, *Schriften und Reden*, vol. i. pp. 105, seq.

² Durandus, *Rationale*, bk. iii. c. 17, Innocent III. *De Myst. Missæ*, bk. i. c. 59. Cf. Ruinart, in Mabillon *Ouvrages Posthumes*, vol. ii. and N. de Bralion, *Pallium Archiepiscopale*, p. 71.

The pallium [says Durandus] typifies ecclesiastical discipline, which deals sternly with its rebellious subjects, but affectionately with the humble and repentant. In the wool is symbolized the roughness, while the white colour denotes benignity. And on this account also it is woven of the wool of a sheep which is a gentle animal; whence the Prophet says, "He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer He shall not open His mouth." . . .

The well-fitting collar which the pallium makes in encircling the shoulders is the fear of the Lord, through which good works are so performed that they neither stray into things that are unlawful, nor grow loose and slack in doing things that are superfluous.

We imagine that the two lappets, one of which hangs behind the back, the other before the breast, denote the cares and troubles of this life whereby the heart and the shoulders of a prelate are often weighed down. Hence it is that the pallium has constantly to be adjusted in front or behind, to the right or to the left, on the breast or round the shoulders in order that it may be understood he is a man who disregarding these distractions enters frequently into himself. . . .

The four purple crosses are the four cardinal virtues, which if they are not purpled in the Blood of Christ are virtues only in name.

The pallium is pierced by three pins, one before the breast, one on the left shoulder, the other behind the back; they are meant to fasten the pallium and the chasuble together. This is the reason why formerly they used to attach little rings to the chasuble through which the pins passed, and in this way the pallium and chasuble were so secured that the pallium could not slip out of place. However we may understand by the three pins, without which the Bishop cannot wear his pallium properly, the virtues of faith, hope, and charity.

Pope Innocent III., whose views may also be found in Durandus, gives a somewhat different explanation of this last point.

The three pins [he says] denote charity towards our neighbour, the work of the ministry, and the severity of the judgment to come. The first pricks the heart with compassion, the second with fiery zeal, the third with fear. . . . The pin used for this purpose is made of gold, but it is sharp at the lower end and massive at its head, which is also set with a jewel. This means that the good shepherd is afflicted upon earth on account of his sheep, but that he will be rewarded in Heaven with an eternal crown of glory.

A little higher up the same Pontiff says :

The pallium is made double on the left side to show with what strength of mind the Bishop ought to endure the woes of this life ; it is single on the right to indicate how he ought to sigh after the repose of the life to come, according to the words of the Psalmist : " One thing I have asked of the Lord, for this I will beseech Him : that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life."

This differs a little from the symbolism already quoted from Durandus in the note on p. 14. Durandus enforces his own interpretation with the remark : " No pin is used upon the right shoulder, because in the everlasting rest of the blessed there is no prick of affliction."

As for the practices now actually observed in Rome in the preparation of the pallia, we may probably follow with most confidence the account

given by Moroni in the different articles of his *Dizionario*.¹

Every year, on the feast of St. Agnes, while the choir are singing the antiphon *Stans a dextris ejus agnus nive candidior* in her church in the Via Nomentana outside Rome, two white lambs are offered at the sanctuary rails by the community of Lateran Canons Regular. The lambs are placed upon the altar, blessed, and presented to two canons of St. John Lateran, who take them afterwards in a carriage to the Pope to receive his blessing. They are then given into the care of some religious until the proper time comes for shearing them, when their wool is taken, mixed with other lambswool, and woven into pallia by the Nuns of the Convent of *Torre de' Specchi*. Early on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul the new pallia are laid upon the altar in the *Confessio* of St. Peter's, the crypt in which reposes the body of the Apostle. By a constitution of Benedict XIV., issued in 1748, they are to be blessed, if possible by the Pope himself, after the Vespers sung on the vigil. When the consecration is completed these are not now, as formerly, taken to the sacristy until wanted, but they are left in a silver-gilt coffer in the closest proximity to the tomb of the Apostles, that the words in the form for conferring the pallium may be verified as literally as possible, *Tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum*

¹ Cf. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, vol. i. p. 899. It is curious how utterly inconsistent are the accounts given of these ceremonies by Catholic writers who ought to be well informed. The majority simply copy Catalani, or rather Patricius Piccolomini, upon whom he commented.

—"We confer upon thee the pallium taken from the body of blessed Peter."

Many curious regulations regarding the pallium are to be met with in liturgical writers and in the great canonists.¹

When the Archbishop's envoy (*mandatarius*) makes application for the pallium, he is to promise to convey it to its destined recipient with the greatest despatch. He engages not to rest for more than one night upon the journey, unless necessity compels him, and he is to take care that in that case the pallium shall be kept in a church, if possible in a Cathedral.

With regard to the use of this vestment, the rule which St. Gregory seems to have had so strongly at heart is now established throughout the Western Church. The Archbishop can never wear his pallium except during solemn High Mass within his own diocese or province, and that only on certain greater festivals (*festa pallii*), which in so far as they are determined by the common law of the Church, are named in the *Pontificale*. The only case in which the pallium can be worn outside the sacred building is when the crowd of worshippers is so great as to necessitate Mass being sung in the open air.

¹ These regulations are given very fully by Mühlbauer (*Decreta Authentica Congregationis SS. Rituum*, vol. ii, pp. 594—617; and Suppl. iii. 15—21), who includes the very few recent decisions which have reference to this subject. Nearly everything which concerns the liturgical aspect of the pallium is given in Catalani's three great commentaries, that on the *Pontificale* (Edit. 1738), vol. i. pp. 235, seq., that on the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* (Edit. 1744), vol. i. pp. 241, seq., and that on Piccolomini's *Ceremoniale Ecclesiæ Romanæ* (Edit. 1750), i. 343, seq.

The pallium is buried with its possessor after his death, and when it happens that the tomb of an Archbishop is opened, some trace of the pallium is generally found. When the remains of Archbishop Hubert Walter were examined at Canterbury not long since, it was discovered that although the silk vestments in many places remained intact, the texture of the pallium, like all other articles made of wool, had completely disappeared. The pins, however, remained with which the pallium was fastened to the shoulders, as also the little pieces of sheet lead with which, as was said above, the ends of the pallium are usually weighted. On prizing open one of these a few threads of the wool could still be seen, where they had been held fast and preserved from the atmosphere by the lead which surrounded them.

So strict is the rule about the burial of the pallium, that even in the case when an Archbishop is drowned at sea and his body cannot be recovered, it is provided that his pallium is not to be given to his successor, but must be either buried in the ground or burnt. In contrast to this it is supposed to have been the tradition in the early Church of Alexandria, that the newly-elected Patriarch was to take the pallium with his own hands from the neck of his predecessor as the body lay exposed before burial. Very probably the legend is wholly apocryphal. In the case of Lanfranc, to whom Pope Alexander sent two pallia, one which he had worn himself and the other a new one, it would seem that the former was given not for use but merely as a personal *souvenir* which he knew Lanfranc would prize.

There is nothing, therefore, in this last incident to cast doubt upon the distinct statement of the *Pontificale* that the pallium is something personal. The conferring of the garment of St. Peter expresses so personal a relation between the Pope and the Archbishop elected to a particular province, that it is forbidden for one Archbishop even to lend his pallium for the use of a fellow-Archbishop.¹ At the same time the pallium is also bound in a special way to the diocese for which it is conferred. If an Archbishop is translated to a new sec, or if a second archbishopric is conferred upon him in addition to the first, he must make application for a second pallium, and then he is to be buried in the pallium which belongs to the province in which he dies. The other must be rolled up and laid under his head.

As was mentioned above, the pallium was only allowed to be worn during High Mass on certain festival-days, but the Pope, of course, has power to make exceptions, and we have record of a few cases in which this has been done. Thus the Patriarch of Constantinople was permitted during the middle ages to wear the pallium at the funeral of the Emperor and at that of other great dignitaries. So again the privilege was given to Hincmar of Rheims by Leo IV., and to Bruno of Cologne, brother of the Emperor Otto the Great, by Agapetus II. to wear the pallium every day while saying Mass. Apart from certain sees with which the distinction is traditional, it still occasionally happens that the pallium is conferred

¹ Phillips, *Vermischte Schriften*, ii. p. 272; Barbosa, *Jus Pontificium Universale*, vol. i. p. 143.

as mark of honour upon simple bishops. Thus, in 1851, it was bestowed by Pius IX. on the Bishop of Marseilles. Again in 1875 the Prince-Bishop of Breslau, Heinrich Förster, received it in commemoration of the jubilee of his priesthood, and still more lately Leo XIII. has given it to Mgr. Faict, the Bishop of Bruges, and Mgr. Senestry, Bishop of Regensburg.

Upon the question of the powers of an Archbishop-elect who has applied for but not received the pallium, very little need be said. That he cannot perform pontifical functions of consecrating, ordaining, &c., is beyond question, although he can delegate others to perform them. It also seems clear that he cannot exercise the jurisdiction which belongs to him precisely as Metropolitan, distinct from that of a simple Bishop. The *Pontificale* expressly permits him to celebrate (High) Mass, but with the curious restriction that he must not wear the sandals.

With the bestowal of the pallium is also bound up the right to use that other external attribute of a Metropolitan—the archiepiscopal cross. “Before receiving the pallium,” says the *Pontificale*, “the elect cannot have his cross borne before him, but only afterwards.” That this rule has existed at least from the beginning of the twelfth century is proved by a letter of St. Anselm’s in which he severely rebukes Samuel, Archbishop of Dublin, for disregarding the prohibition. When an Archbishop, having been invested with the pallium, is in enjoyment of his full powers, his cross is held up before him when he gives his blessing, and in respect for that sacred emblem he remains bareheaded. Thus it happens that a

Bishop in giving his solemn benediction wears his mitre ; an Archbishop within his own province does not.

Finally, in bringing this essay to a close may it be permitted me to re-echo the wish expressed by Cardinal Pole in his first pastoral discourse to the flock he had come to shepherd. "Would that ye but knew," he said, in a voice broken with emotion, "Would that ye but knew what God grants you by the mission of this peace!" Yes, the pallium is the true *eirenicon*. Would that the people of England indeed knew the peace that union with Rome would offer them ! Would that they would unite their voices in the solemn profession of fealty made by that chief Shepherd, now so auspiciously to be invested in the robe taken from the tomb of blessed Peter !

APPENDIX.

FORM USED BY THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF IN BLESSING THE PALLIA ON THE VIGIL OF SS. PETER AND PAUL.

(From the Constitution *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* of Pope Benedict XIV.)

He who performs the ceremony of blessing the Pallia sprinkles them thrice with Holy Water, saying the Antiphon, Asperges, &c., and thrice fumigates them with incense. Then he says :

℣. Our help is in the name of the Lord.

℟. Who hath made both heaven and earth.

℣. The Lord be with you.

℟. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, the eternal Shepherd of souls, who didst entrust them through Thy Son Jesus Christ under the name of sheep to Blessed Peter the Apostle and his successors to be governed after the pattern of the Good Shepherd, and who didst wish that the title-deeds of the pastoral charge should be signified under the symbols of sacred vestments, pour forth through our ministry upon these pallia taken from the altar of the Blessed Princes of the Apostles the abundant grace of thy blessing ✠ and sanctification ✠ that we may work with full effect the plenitude and excellence of the pastoral office which they mystically represent. Do thou graciously receive the prayers of Our Humility, and grant by the merits and intercession of the same Apostles that whoever by thy favour shall wear them, may understand that he is the shepherd of Thy sheep, and may prove himself to be in deed that which he is designated in name. May he be the follower of that good and great Shepherd who placed upon His shoulders the wandering sheep and restored it to the flock for which He laid down His life. In imitation of Him may he be earnest in his care of the

flock entrusted to him, may he be vigilant, may he take heed that no sheep fall a prey to the ravenous and deceitful wolves. May he be animated with the zeal of discipline, seeking out that which is lost, recovering that which is estranged, tying up that which has broken loose, keeping watch over that which is fat and strong. May he see the cross placed upon his shoulders, which Thy Son having joy set before Him did not hesitate to bear; may he be crucified to the world and the world to him. May he support the yoke of the gospel laid upon his neck, and may it be light and sweet to him; that by his example and his exactness he may run before the rest in the way of Thy commandments. May it be to him a symbol of unity and a badge of perfect communion with the Holy See, may it be the bond of charity, the cord of the Divine inheritance, the pledge of eternal safety, that in the days of the coming revelation of the great God and of Jesus Christ the Prince of shepherds, he may obtain, together with the sheep entrusted to him, the robe of immortality and glory. Through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

CEREMONY OF CONFERRING THE PALLIUM.

When the Pallium is conferred outside the Court of Rome, it is delivered to the Archbishop Elect with certain solemnities at the conclusion of Mass, either in his Cathedral Church, or in some other of the Province which may be found more convenient. After the Communion of the Celebrant the Pallium is spread out in the middle of the altar wrapped in a covering of silk, in which also it was conveyed thither. When Mass is over, the Bishop deputed by the Sovereign Pontiff, wearing amice, stole, cope, and mitre, seated before the altar on a faldstool, receives the oath of fealty in the name of the Apostolic See. The Archbishop Elect, in taking the oath, kneels before him clad in all the pontifical vestments, as if he were about to celebrate Mass, with the exception however of the mitre and the gloves. A translation of the form of oath, saving a few clauses added since the thirteenth century, is given on page III.

When the oath has been read through by the Elect, the said Bishop holding open in his lap with both hands the book of the Gospels, the lower part of the book towards the Elect, receives from him the delivery of the oath, and when the Elect still on his knees before him pronounces the words :

So may God help me and these holy Gospels.

Then the Bishop answers :

Thanks be to God.

The oath of fealty having thus been taken, the Bishop rises with his mitre on, lifts the Pallium from the altar, and lays it upon the shoulders of the Elect still kneeling, while he says :

To the honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of our Lord Pope N., and of the holy Roman Church, as well as of the Church of N. which has been entrusted to thee, we deliver to thee the Pallium taken from the body of Blessed Peter in which is the fulness of the pontifical office, together with the name and style of Archbishop, that thou mayst use it within thy own church on the appointed days, which are set down in the privileges granted by the Apostolic See. In the Name of the Fa✠ther, and of the Son ✠, and of the Holy ✠ Ghost.

R̄. Amen.

When this has been done the Bishop takes off his mitre and moves to the Gospel corner. Then the Archbishop rises with the Pallium, and ascending to the altar, having his cross before him (if he be in his own church or any other of his diocese or province), but with head uncovered, solemnly blesses the people, saying :

℣. May the name of the Lord be blessed.

R̄. Now and for evermore.

℣. Our help is in the name of the Lord.

R̄. Who has made Heaven and earth.

May Almighty God bless you, Fa✠ther, Son ✠, and Holy ✠ Ghost.

R̄. Amen.

The Immuring of Nuns.

BY THE REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

And now the blind old Abbot rose
To speak the Chapter's doom
On those the wall was to enclose
Alive within the tomb.

(Scott, *Marmion*, canto ii. 25.)

AMONG the treasured convictions which have sunk deep down into the heart of the ordinary English Protestant, there is none more firmly rooted than the belief that all monasteries, but more especially the houses of religious women, are essentially prisons. In a moment of weakness, despondency, or highly wrought enthusiasm (disappointed love seems to be held responsible by the class of persons to whom we refer for about 90 per cent. of vocations to the cloister), the poor deluded victim takes the fatal step and gives in her name to a religious order. From that hour she is bound by adamantine chains. In a more primitive state of society, we are told, the natural result of this system was to lead to grave moral disorders, to convert tender women into cruel fanatics, or at least to destroy in them all independent judgment even of right and wrong. But in some cases the prisoner driven to desperation will break out into open revolt. When this took place, the well-instructed Protestant knows exactly what followed. A solemn conclave was held, the nun who had transgressed her vows was compelled to undergo some terrible imprisonment or torture, and in extreme cases amid a mockery of religious ceremonial she was built up alive into a niche in the wall to perish slowly by hunger and suffocation.

No one can suspect a man like Sir Walter Scott of

pandering to mere vulgar bigotry, and yet this is the legend for which he pledges his credit as a student of history in a well-known episode of *Marmion*. Since his day this monstrous fiction may have fallen a little lower in the scale of respectability, but it is very far from having died out. There is hardly an anti-Catholic meeting of any kind, at which, if the question of convent life happens to turn up, the old charge is not in some shape or other repeated. When the Birmingham Oratory was in course of erection, as readers of Cardinal Newman's *Present Position of Catholics* will remember, something very like a popular outbreak took place excited by the discovery of a supposed series of dungeons in the basement. Still more recently a similar calumny was circulated among the Protestant workmen at Stonylhurst during the first stages of the erection of a ventilating shaft. But to illustrate the shape in which this venerable spectre is continually being resuscitated, I cannot do better than quote a passage from a lecture on *Convents Romish and Anglican* printed only a few months back, and prepared as a handbook to accompany a set of magic-lantern slides. The entertainment thus provided is intended, it seems, for Young Men's Societies and Sunday Schools, and is to be introduced, be it understood, *by prayer*.

"But we have yet another punishment that is probably still in use in the Romish system, and that is burying the nun alive. It is almost incredible that Satan can exercise such power over men as to make them believe it is right to do this. It is probably borrowed in part from the ancient custom of burying alive the vestal virgin who had committed some crime. In Mexico, owing to the climate, most perfect skeletons of walled-up nuns have lately been discovered in a state of complete preservation in old disused monasteries. Here is a picture of one. Dr. Grattan Guinness has seen such skeletons there quite lately."¹

To illustrate this we have "Slide 30, *Walling up a Nun*," "Slide 31, *Skeleton of Immured Nun*."

Gross as is the calumny involved in a charge like this, it is not always, as some of my readers may have had

¹ Church Association and National Protestant League. Lecture No. 4, *Convents Romish and Anglican*. By the Rev. W. L. Holland, M.A.

occasion to discover, the easiest thing in the world to refute it satisfactorily.¹ The majority of the writers who repeat such statements do not think it necessary to refer to any definite instances in support of their assertions. Of those who make a pretence of proof the greater number confine themselves to examples located in far-off countries, or dependent upon the testimony of persons whose evidence cannot for various reasons be subjected to any examination. There remain, however, a few instances which seem more or less within range, and as these are appealed to with all confidence by the more respectable of the assailants of monastic life, there can be no injustice in taking them as test cases to see the value of the evidence upon which the charges rest. This is what I have tried to do in the pages which follow, and the reader must judge of the results for himself. Space is precious in a pamphlet like the present, so waiving further preamble let us address ourselves at once to the task before us. We may take for our first example a case which illustrates well the spirit in which the inquiry is approached by writers on the other side.

In a work called the *History of the Inquisition*,² by W. H. Rule, D.D., there is given at some length an account of the case of Fra Tommaso di Mileto, a conventual friar of the Order of St. Francis and a "victim" of the Roman Inquisition. The narrative, as Dr. Rule explains, is based upon some authentic records of the Holy Office which have curiously enough found their way into the library of Trinity College, Dublin.³ Friar Tommaso has been found guilty of maintaining certain heretical propositions, denying, among other matters, the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Sacrament of Penance. Final judgment in the case was pronounced by Cardinal [St. Charles] Borromeo, who sentenced the offender to be "deprived of all ecclesiastical

¹ Few Catholic writers, it would seem, have thought it worth while to discuss the question seriously. There is an excellent article, however, on the subject by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1889.

² Second Edit. Two Vols. London, 1874.

³ I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of these documents. See the paper by K. Benrath in Von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1879, i. p. 254. Cf. the articles by the same writer in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for 1877, and in the *Rivista Cristiana* of Florence for 1880.

dignities and honours," but inasmuch as he was penitent "absolved him from the censures thus pronounced and ordered that he should receive absolution at once, under condition of returning to the Church and doing penance, the form of which penance is described in every particular, including the *abitello*, or penitential habit with a cross." Dr. Rule then continues: "This, it might have been thought, would have been accounted sufficient for a forgiven penitent, but after it comes the following dreadful sentence, necessary to satisfy the anger of the Church :

"And because it is not convenient and just to be zealous only in taking vengeance for offences committed against princes of the world, and yet not to be concerned for offences committed against the Divine Majesty, and also that crimes may not remain unpunished with bad example to our neighbour, it is our pleasure that you be walled up in a place surrounded with four walls—*che tu sij murato in un loco circondato da quattro mura*—which place we will cause to be assigned to you ; where with anguish of heart and abundance of tears, you shall bewail your sins and offences committed against the majesty of God, the holy mother Church, and the religion of the Father St. Francis, in which you have made profession.'"

And here we may pause for a moment before we allow Dr. Rule to express the emotions with which these horrors have filled him. It should, we might think, have occurred to him that he had possibly misconceived the meaning of the original text. The word *murato*, as any fairly good dictionary will show, does not necessarily mean *walled up* in Italian, any more than the word "immured" necessarily means *walled up* in English.¹ The sentence enjoins that the friar is to be "confined within four walls," until he has had time to think over his conduct and give reasonable assurance of future good behaviour. This is the natural meaning of the words ; the more so as the substantive *murus* in mediæval Latin and all the derivative tongues was very commonly used in the sense of "prison." Moreover, it is borne out by an appeal to any dictionary of authority, like the great work of Tommaseo, as well as by the fact that the

¹ See, *e.g.*, any recent edition of Baretti, where under the word *murare*, we have "to inclose, shut in."

phrase "within four walls"¹ is more or less idiomatic in every European language. The only thing "dreadful" in this matter is the intensity of the prejudice which, against all antecedent probability, jumps at once at the unfavourable interpretation. But we are interrupting the stream of Dr. Rule's indignant pathos. He thus continues: "So within four walls built up around him, but with sufficient space to kneel down before a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, this poor man was to be confined, and out of that place he was not to stir, but there suffer anguish of heart, and shed many tears. There was no order given for any door, but only four walls were to be built up around him; and from what we know of these structures, we may suppose that a small opening was to be left above, for food to be dropped down to him. It was what would be called in England 'a little-ease,' where the prisoner was to be kept to putrify and expire in his own filth."²

The reference at this point to the "little-ease" of dear old England was perhaps slightly inelicitous, and Dr. Rule seems to have had his attention called to the slip. Accordingly in the later edition³ he is careful to guide the minds of his readers into the proper channel by the addition of the words (little-ease) "in the days of Bonner." It is to be hoped that all right-minded Anglicans perusing this passage will fix their attention carefully in future upon the tyrannies of Bloody Mary, and not allow their thoughts to stray by any chance distraction in the direction of our good Queen Bess. But it is rather unfortunate that while the torture of the "little-ease" meets the student at every turn during the persecutions under Elizabeth, it is hardly known to have been used in the time of her elder sister. Finally, after a reference to some human remains seen by a Mr. Witherell in the walls of the Inquisition at Seville, Dr. Rule concludes in evident bewilderment: "By some

¹ The phrase, *tra quattro mura*, is used of any close confinement without free egress, and Tommaseo with his liberalist prejudices cites the phrase, *chiudere tra quattro mura una fanciulla*, as a popular equivalent of sending a girl into a convent. But even Dr. Rule will hardly suppose that every girl that goes into a convent is *walled-up*. Cf. the French *mettre entre quatre murailles*.

² *History of the Inquisition*, First Edit. p. 375.

³ *Ib.* Second Edit. vol. ii. p. 197.

means or other, Fra Tommaso, the Minorite, escaped from his 'place with four walls.' He might have found a loose stone in the wall and broken through, or some one of the servants may have pitied him, and helped him to get out. Be that as it might, his effigy was burnt, according to a sentence read on the 8th of November, 1565."

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to take Dr. Rule quite seriously in all this, but it may be worth while to call attention to two significant facts which do not certainly make in favour of his view of a Roman "immuring." In the year 1578, that is a little more than twelve years after the events here described, there was printed in Rome an edition of Eymeric's *Directorium Inquisitorum*, with a new commentary by Francis Pegna, a learned canonist who had long been connected with the Holy Office both in that city and in Spain. The book was issued to serve as a *manual of procedure for the Inquisitors themselves*. It was dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. and appeared with all sorts of official sanctions. In this work Pegna commenting upon the term *immuratio* which occurs in Eymeric's text, declares that "the punishment of immuring is altogether the same as that of perpetual confinement in a public gaol, contrary to what some people suppose who are ignorant of the antiquity of the latter institution."¹ No doubt Dr. Rule would find no difficulty in believing that this statement was sanctioned by the Roman Inquisitors at the very time that a score of prisoners were still pining away in walled-up niches within a dozen yards of them. But those who understand the nature of Pegna's work will not be able to accept this explanation. The second fact lies in a detail of the sentence passed on Fra Tommaso and others similarly condemned to be *murati*. He was to receive the Blessed Eucharist, if his confessor approved, once a week. Was this also "to be dropped down to him from a small opening left above"? Catholics will not readily suppose that St. Charles Borromeo in passing sentence can have contemplated that.

¹ F. Pegna, *Annotationes in Directorium Inquisitorum Eymerici*, p. 184, Romæ, 1578: "Eandem prorsus esse poenam immurationis et carceris perpetui, contra quam quidam hujus antiquitatis ignari censeant." It would seem from some sentences of the Inquisition, published by Benrath in the *Rivista Cristiana*, that *carcer perpetuus* is to be understood rather of the place than of the punishment.

But let us suppose that Dr. Rule, and the author from whom he borrows, are perfectly correct in their interpretations—what, we may ask, would follow? Let us suppose that Fra Tommaso was really condemned, as they seem to imagine, to stand patiently in an open space while the stone-masons of the Holy Office solemnly erected four walls around him—what is the peculiar horror of this form of imprisonment? After all he was to receive his daily rations, he had room enough to turn round in, with “a crucifix and a statue of the Virgin,” and as the event showed, he was not debarred from the hope of escape. This is a totally different thing from the ordinary Protestant conception of nuns built up alive into a niche in the wall to starve or to suffocate in a few hours. Heaven forbid that we should seek to extenuate the horrors of any form of perpetual imprisonment in one spot, but whether the sufferer was shut in by masonry or by a door whose bolts were never to be drawn back, could hardly make so very much difference. Yet at that epoch there was scarcely a castle or civil prison in Europe but had dungeons where victims might be and were immured until death came to deliver them. It is shocking and terrible to look back upon, no doubt, but it is no more reasonable to seek to create a prejudice against Catholics on that score, than it would be to condemn the British nation of immodesty because their ancestors went naked.

Now it is precisely this sort of evidence which is largely appealed to in a vague and ill-defined way to support the calumny of the immuring of nuns. In the conception of Sir Walter Scott, and in the mouths of those who shelter themselves behind his authority, a plain and clear charge is made that nuns who broke their vows were not uncommonly built up into niches in the wall. Mrs. Browning, in her *Lay of the Brown Rosary*, uses language that is equally unmistakable :

A nun in the east wall was buried alive,
Who mocked at the priest when he called her to shrive,
And shrieked such a curse, *as the stone took her breath*,
The old abbess fell backward and swooned unto death,
With an *Ave* half-spoken.

Sir Walter is so well acquainted with the whole proceeding that he informs us in a note, which I shall have occasion to quote in full later on, that "the awful words *vade in pace* were the signal for immuring the criminal." Where he obtained his information he does not say; but this much happens to be true, that the phrase *in pace* is used in modern French as a synonym for dungeon or *cachot*,¹ and is applied more or less technically by archæologists to the prison-cells found in some ancient monasteries for the confinement of refractory religious. These cells were in no sense niches in the wall such as Sir Walter Scott has in mind, neither were they walled up, but they were closed with doors like other cells, barred no doubt from the outside by those in charge of the prisoner. That they were often the reverse of luxurious, needs no saying, for they were intended for the punishment of those whose ordinary conditions of life as to food, clothing, and lodging would be regarded with horror by the inmate of a modern convict prison. What the history of the word *in pace* as applied to these structures has been, I have found it impossible to ascertain satisfactorily.² The word has been used in French since the sixteenth century or earlier, but in Latin Ducange offers but a single example, and that under the heading *vade in pace*. Strange to say, it is always to this same example that any modern writers who happen to give references lead us back either mediately or immediately, until the doubt arises whether the use of the phrase for a monastic prison-cell was ever anything more than a local designation in mediæval times, arising possibly in the grim humour of one particular monastery. However, this is quite a subsidiary point. The important fact is, that when the phrase *in pace* is used by continental writers, or when an appeal is made to history to illustrate its meaning, we find that the instances given are simply cases of perpetual imprisonment, and in no instance have the slightest reference to walling-up alive

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Il faudrait
Dit l'infant Ruy, trouver quelque couvent discret
Quelqu' *in pace* bien calme où cet enfant vieillisse.
(Victor Hugo, *Ruy Blas*.)

² Little or nothing is to be found on the subject in Littré, Bescherelle, Ducange, Godefroy, or Scheler.

in the sense of Sir Walter Scott. Of course it is impossible to speak quite positively in such a matter. The difficulty of proving a negative is proverbial, and he would be a rash man who would venture to set a limit to the horrors which a mediæval controversialist in a rage was capable of laying to the charge of his adversaries. But this much may be said, that after examining such few references as are quoted by those who declare that the practice of walling-up alive was a fact, I have not yet come across an instance where there was the least reason to suppose that the writer was thinking of the bricking up of a niche in the sense of Scott's *Marmion*. Cases occur undoubtedly of confinement in some cruelly narrow cell. More than once the accusation is made that prisoners were deliberately allowed to starve upon a pittance insufficient to support life. But these instances are all quite different from the "living tomb" of the poet, the idea uppermost in the minds of the lecturers and platform orators who make capital of it to excite the horror of their audience.

For the majority of these gentlemen it is impossible, for reasons already explained, to submit their statements to any investigation; but we may examine, as far as space will permit, the allegations made by some of the more respectable of those who disseminate the tradition. From these we may learn how little to expect of the others.

An American writer, a Mr. H. C. Lea, who enjoys among his own countrymen a considerable reputation for historical research, has published of late years three substantial volumes entitled *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. The author has apparently spent his life¹ in raking together with laborious assiduity every scandal and every gruesome story he could find which reflected unfavourably upon the mediæval Church in any part of the world. "The evil that men do lives after them" we are told on good authority, and the natural result of this accumulation of horrors unrelieved by any attempt to examine the brighter colours of the picture has been to produce in Mr. Lea's mind an extremely strong bias against the Catholic Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the same time

¹ I refer here particularly to the *History of Celibacy* by the same author.

Mr. Lea is a writer of quite a different stamp from some of the fanatics referred to above. He is an educated man who understands the value of documentary evidence, and who would not, I am fain to believe, be guilty of any intentional falsification of his materials. Naturally Mr. Lea has been led to devote a good deal of attention to the religious punishments of the middle ages, and one turns with considerable interest to his pages, feeling sure that any horror or cruelty in monasteries or out of them, for which evidence can be quoted, will not have escaped his diligence. What adds to the importance of his work is the fact that he has incorporated in it all the researches of M. Molinier of Toulouse, who has devoted many years to investigating the MS. records of the Inquisition in the South of France,¹ a region where the cruelties practised against the Albigensian and Waldensian heretics have long supplied Protestant controversialists with a favourite topic of declamation.

That Mr. Lea has plenty to tell about the various forms of imprisonment enjoined by the Inquisition need hardly be said. The technical name for it, at any rate in the South of France, was *murus*, a fact which may be commended to the consideration of our friend Dr. Rule; it was divided into three kinds, *largus*, *strictus*, and *strictissimus*. In the case of the *murus largus*, the prisoner was allowed to take exercise in the corridors; in the *strictus*, he was not allowed to leave his cell; in the *murus strictissimus*,² he was thrust into some dreadful dungeon, chained, it would seem, hand and foot.³ It does not appear that the regulations were always enforced with equal severity, and M. Molinier gives numerous instances of the prisoners obtaining *licentiam*

¹ Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France*.

² The *murus strictissimus* is mentioned by Mr. Lea. M. Molinier, the more trustworthy investigator, speaks only of *murus largus* and *murus strictus*.

³ The stench and filth of some of the Elizabethan prisons, of which we have details too horrible to be set down here, exceed anything recorded of the dungeons of the Inquisition. See, e.g., Father Pollen's *Acts of English Martyrs* or Jardine's *Use of Torture*, &c. We may notice also an interesting parallel to the *murus largus* and *strictus* in the "liberty of gaol" and "close prison" of which we have record in the same reign.

exeundi murum—leave to quit the precincts of the gaol, sometimes for six weeks or more together.

It is important to call attention to the meaning here given to *murus*, because the word seems to have led even some Catholic writers into the belief—as I conceive, an erroneous one—that the offenders condemned to perpetual prison had the door of their cells literally *walled up*, though apertures were left both for light and for the introduction of food. Now Eymeric, himself Inquisitor General, the author of the official handbook of inquisitorial procedure, says in this work: “In some towns, as at Toulouse and at Carcassonne, the Inquisitors have in their establishment prisons, which they call *muri*, because these cells are contiguous to the *walls of the town*.”¹ If this etymology be correct, it has a curious analogy to that of the *piombi* of Venice—the dungeons underneath *the leads*, in which Silvio Pellico, for instance, was confined. But however the name arose, Messrs. Lea and Molinier would be the first to confess that for Eymeric and for other writers of that epoch no blocking up with masonry was implied by the word *immuratio*. That Pegna, a sort of consultor to the Inquisition, and a man who had every means of knowing the truth, wrote in the same sense in Rome three centuries later, we have already seen.

Of course in many cases there was a severity shown which no one could attempt to excuse, except on the ground that it was absolutely universal at that epoch, and lasted, in our own country for instance, until long after Reformation times. On the sufferings of the victim, as might be expected, Mr. Lea dilates with gusto. But if anybody should search his volumes for confirmation of the legend supported by Sir Walter Scott he will meet very little to reward his pains.

One instance, however, to which he refers has some bearing upon the matter in question, and may be quoted here. Religious, Mr. Lea tells us, convicted of heresy were not confined in the prisons of the Inquisition but in the cells provided in the different monasteries for the punishment of offenders. “In the case of Jeanne, widow of B. de la Tour, a nun of Lespinasse, in 1246, who had

¹ See *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 635.

committed acts of both Catharan and Waldensian heresy, and had prevaricated in her confession, the sentence was confinement in a separate cell in her own convent, where no one was to enter or see her, her food being pushed in through an opening left for the purpose, in fact the living tomb known as the *in pace*.¹

It need hardly be remarked that this case is very far from bearing out the notion of the *in pace* which is found in Sir Walter Scott. There is not a word about walling up, and it is quite clear that the prisoner was supplied with food. But it is particularly interesting because from the prominence given to it both by Mr. Lea and M. Molinier, it is tolerably clear that they have no instance to adduce of greater severity.

But Mr. Lea adds in a note: "The cruelty of the monastic system of imprisonment known as *in pace*, or *vade in pacem*, was such that those subjected to it speedily died in all the agonies of despair," and then he goes on to cite the appeal of the Archbishop of Toulouse to King John of France to mitigate the severity of this solitary confinement, and the resulting *ordonnance* of the King that the Superior of the convent should twice a month visit and console the prisoner, who moreover should have the right twice a month to ask for the company of one of the monks.² Now it is a curious fact that the one passage here referred to is the only justification I have been able to find of the use of the word *in pace* by mediæval writers in the sense of prison. As already mentioned, Ducange gives only this solitary example, and writers after quoting from one another seem always in the end to be traceable to this. It is fortunate however that the letter defines the meaning of the term so

¹ Lea, op. cit. i. p. 487. It may be worth while to remark that as far as I have been able to examine the abundant Inquisition literature published of late years by Douais, Fredericq, Molinier, Clæssens, Medina, Henner, and others, no attempt is now made by serious students to substantiate against the Inquisition the charge of walling up its prisoners alive.

² The document is given at length in Baluze's notes to *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. p. 1088. A story sometimes quoted (e.g. by Mabillon, *Ouvrages Posthumes* ii. p. 323), from the *Liber Miraculorum* of Peter of Clugny (ii. 9) about a monk who was buried alive in the ground, seems to me to describe only a device adopted to frighten an impenitent offender, not a punishment seriously persisted in.

that we can see how little it accords with the modern conception. This cruel imprisonment which is called by the monks *vade in pace*, is explained by the merciful Archbishop to be perpetual and solitary confinement in a gloomy dungeon upon bread and water, and he asks the Sovereign to insist upon its mitigation, as it is found that many sufferers die under it. Strict orders for its alleviation, as already mentioned, were at once issued by King John, and indeed there may be found in the Canonists reference to more than one ordinance of the Holy See passing restrictions upon the too great severity of the monastic prisons. To enter into these would take us too far from our present purpose, but it may be sufficient to repeat that neither here nor in the revelations of Messrs. Lea and Molinier is there any suggestion to be found of walled-up niches or of the withdrawal of that modicum at least of bread and water, necessary to sustain life.¹ Such regulations as we do find enjoining the occasional companionship of other monks seem on the contrary to point to a cell that could be entered by a door or at least to one that permitted easy communication with the outside world.²

Somewhat nearly akin to these punishment cells which the French call *in pace*'s, and in the delightfully vague

¹ Compare with this treatment the *peine forte et dure* of English Common Law enacted against the prisoner who stood "mute of malice." He was to be "stretched upon his back and to have iron laid upon him as much as he could bear and more, and so to continue, fed upon bad bread and stagnant water, through alternate days until he pleaded or died." (Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law*, i. p. 297.) It was last inflicted as recently as the year 1726.

² One or two other details may be added. Mr. Lea says: "While the penance prescribed was a diet of bread and water, the Inquisition, with unwonted kindness, did not object to its prisoners receiving from their friends contributions of food, wine, money, and garments, and among its documents are such frequent allusions to this that it may be regarded as an established custom." (p. 491.) Again the same writer complains "that *through long years* the miserable inmates endured a living death far worse than the short agony of the stake." We need not stay to inquire whether perpetual imprisonment is worse than death, but it is clear that the prisoners *lived*, which is not the idea of Exeter Hall. Lastly, it is also beyond question, from the evidence both of Molinier and Mr. Lea, that the Holy See from time to time intervened peremptorily on the side of mercy. In 1306, under Clement V., the Inquisitor, a bishop, was deposed.

language of anti-Popery declamation commonly identified with them, is the *oubliette*. Properly speaking the *oubliette* should be regarded as the adjunct of the feudal castle rather than of the mediæval monastery. By archæologists, who are accurate in the use of terms, the word is used to denote a sort of well or secret chamber constructed under the floor of a room, and so arranged that the victim whom it was desired to get rid of could be precipitated into it through a trap-door or other contrivance. There he was killed by the fall or left to starve. Now, as it cannot be too often repeated, this paper by no means undertakes the defence of mediæval punishments, but still it is worth while pointing out how utterly unreliable in their regard is the voice of popular tradition, and I venture to quote on the subject of the *oubliette* a few words from M. Viollet le Duc, an archæologist whose acquaintance with the byways of mediæval architecture is confessedly unrivalled. There is hardly an ancient castle, says this authority¹ whose words I am forced to condense, where the attention of the visitor is not called to the *oubliettes*, but the vast majority of the pits so designated are nothing more nor less than latrines. I have seen, he continues, in plenty of castles, abbeys, and other ancient buildings, dungeons (*des cachots*), and punishment cells (*des vade in pace*), but I know only three *oubliettes* which have any claim to be considered as such. Of these three the only one as to whose destination he is satisfied is that of the Castle of Pierrefonds. M. Viollet le Duc had himself lowered to the bottom of the shaft, but no trace whatever existed of any human remains, although no visible means of removing them existed if any one had ever been precipitated there. Altogether upon the whole question M. Viollet le Duc finds himself in entire agreement with the hardly less distinguished archæologist, M. Prosper Mérimée, whose words he quotes. "The middle ages are too often painted in extravagant colours, and the imagination accepts much too readily the atrocities which romance writers assign to spots like these. How many wine vaults and wood cellars have been mistaken for frightful dungeons! How many bones thrown away from the kitchen have been

¹ *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française au Moyen Age*, vol. vi. pp. 452, 453.

regarded as the remains of the victims of feudal tyranny!" He then instances the case of these *oubliettes* and concludes: "Without absolutely denying the existence of such things, they ought nevertheless to be considered as very rare and only to be admitted where there is clear proof of the purpose they were intended to serve."¹ As for the walled-up niche which is in question here, I know only one archæologist of repute² who has taken the trouble to investigate the matter seriously. The verdict of this Anglican Archdeacon is that "there never was a time when such things could have been true." For the rest the more respectable writers are content with an appeal to the authority of Sir Walter Scott, or a vague reference to certain "discoveries" which are not found upon examination to rest upon very reliable evidence. I propose to devote the remainder of this paper to the investigation of some of these stories.

When Sir Walter Scott introduced into *Marmion* the episode so often referred to, he added at the same time a note which may as well be given entire: "It is well known that the religious who broke their vows of chastity were subjected to the same penalty as the Roman vestals in a similar case. A small niche, sufficient to enclose their bodies, was made in the massive wall of the convent; a slender pittance of food and water was deposited in it, and the awful words, *Vade in pace*, were the signal for immuring the criminal. It is not likely that in latter times this punishment was often resorted to; but among the ruins of the Abbey of Coldingham, were some years ago discovered the remains of a female skeleton, which from the shape of the niche and the position of the figure, seemed to be that of an immured nun." (Note 2 M.) To which Lockhart in his edition of the poems adds this valuable comment: "The Edinburgh Reviewer, on stanza xxxii. *post*, suggests that the proper reading of the sentence is *vade in pacem*--not *part*

¹ *Instructions du Comité historique des arts et monuments*,--*Architecture Militaire*, pp. 75-82.

² Archdeacon Churton in his paper on *Penitential Cells and Prisons connected with Monastic Houses*, read before the Yorkshire Architectural Society and printed in *Associated Architectural Societies Reports*, vol. ii. p. 219. I am indebted to Mr. Peacock's article for the reference.

in peace, but *go into peace*, or into eternal rest, a pretty intelligible *mittimus* to another world."

It is a pity that Sir Walter Scott has not made us acquainted with the sources whence he derived this important information. The reference to Coldingham, however, is at least something to go upon, although even that might certainly be more definite. Still Coldingham is not unknown to fame. As early as the beginning of the seventh century, St. Ebba, or Abb, built a nunnery there, which seems to have been of the kind called mixed—*i.e.*, including both monks and nuns under the rule of an Abbess. It was destroyed by the Danes before 880, but in 1098 a priory for monks was founded in the same spot by Edgar, King of Scotland, as an appanage to Durham. In this way Coldingham comes to occupy a very considerable place in Raine's great *History of North Durham*. It receives full attention also in Mackenzie Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, as well as in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, Ridpath's *Border History*, and many other works, so that it seemed not unreasonable to expect that from one source or another satisfactory details would be forthcoming about Sir Walter Scott's immured nun. To detail the various incidents of the quest undertaken in pursuit of this *ignis fatuus* would be highly uninteresting.¹ In the majority of the authoritative works named, and in a number of others, there is no allusion whatever to the discovery. On the other hand, the compilers of modern guide-books mention the episode to a man, copying each other, but of course without references. It will be sufficient therefore to say that the earliest mention of the story I have been able to find occurs in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* (1789), in the following words: "Some years ago in taking down a tower at the south-west corner of the building, a skeleton of a woman was found, who from several circumstances appeared to have been immured. She had her shoes on, which were long preserved in the custody of the minister."²

¹ It may be worth while to mention that a letter addressed to the minister of Coldingham asking if he could kindly supply any details or any references to a contemporary account of the discovery, has met with no reply.

² F. Grose, *Antiquities of Scotland* (1789), p. 95.

It is perhaps not too much to infer from this notice that the discovery must have been made a considerable time before Mr. Grose wrote. The remark that "her shoes were long preserved in the custody of the minister," seems rather to imply that they had then disappeared, and the mention of "a tower in the south-west corner of the building," leaves us to choose between two alternatives, either that the discovery was made in a wing of the priory where it cannot be pretended that nuns ever lived, as the priory was built solely for men, or that the date of the find was so remote that some of St. Ebba's nunnery was still standing. It is probably for this reason that Mr. Grose, a careful antiquary, says nothing about *nuns* or *in pace's*, but speaks only of "a woman who seemed to have been immured." Somewhat fuller details are given by later writers, but for brevity's sake we may content ourselves with the account to be found in Carr's *History of Coldingham*, still the standard work on the locality, composed in 1836 by a resident antiquary who was also a medical man: "On removing a portion of the ruins about fifty years ago, the bones of a female skeleton were discovered enclosed in a niche in one of the walls, which from its position, and the narrowness of the depository, are supposed to have been the remains of an *immured nun*. . . . Two sandals of thin leather, furnished with latchets of silk, were also found lying at the bottom of the recess.¹ Could it be satisfactorily proved that the skeleton was actually that of a nun, all doubt respecting the site of the last of the double monasteries would be dispelled, for as the priory was devoted exclusively to monks, the body must necessarily have been deposited there previous to its erection. In the absence of such evidence, it may be questioned whether it may not have been the remains of a monk who had been buried in an upright posture; there being on record several instances of such a mode of burial practised in the Benedictine monasteries."²

Three extremely interesting conclusions may be deduced from the latter portion of this account. In the first place we

¹ "The sandals were long in the possession of the late Mr. Johnston, factor to the estate of Billy." (Note by Dr. Carr.)

² A. A. Carr, *History of Coldingham Priory*, p. 316.

learn that the site even of the original nunnery of St. Ebb is a matter of conjecture. Strange to say, the argument is not, as we might expect—a skeleton has been found among ruins known to be those of an ancient nunnery, therefore the skeleton is that of a nun. But it runs *ex converso*—human remains are found apparently walled up in a ruin, therefore the ruin must be that of a house of religious women.

Secondly we are reminded, that as the nunnery was finally wrecked by the Danes in 875, the remains, if those of one of the inmates, must have been in the wall for more than nine hundred years, which is a long time for the sandals to have been perfectly preserved in a situation so dubiously air-tight. I say nothing of the fact that the nunnery was destroyed by fire, which might have been supposed to shrivel the leather, even behind a wall.

Lastly, Dr. Carr lets us see that he, a diligent and competent investigator living on the spot, and therefore presumably able to question those with whom remained the tradition of the discovery, had found nothing to satisfy him that the remains were even those of a female.

A complaint was made a page or two back that no satisfactory particulars were forthcoming about this interesting find. Perhaps the reader will after all be disposed to think that the evidence is sufficient—sufficient, that is to say, to show how utterly untrustworthy are all the conclusions based upon it.

Amongst the works mentioned above as conspicuous by their silence respecting the immured nun of Coldingham is Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*. That Mr. Walcott should not have bestowed even a footnote upon the nun in his full account of Coldingham Priory is remarkable—the more so that in an earlier work he shows himself a devout believer in the good old Protestant tradition. In his justly-esteemed *Dictionary of Sacred Archæology*, under the heading (monastic) “Prison,” we find the following statements: “In all cases solitary confinement was practised, and in some cases the guilty were immured, after the pronouncement of the sentence, *Vade in pace*—‘Go in peace.’ At Thornton the skeleton of Abbot de Multon, *c.* 1445, with a candlestick, chair (*sic*) and table, was found built up within a recess of the wall; and a cell

with a loop looking towards the high altar, remains at the Temple, in which William (*sic*) le Bachelor, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, died."

Here then are two other interesting examples which invite verification. They are placed by Mr. Walcott in the front rank presumably as being the most satisfactory and the nearest home. At the same time we may remark *en passant* that neither the one nor the other in the least realizes the idea of Sir Walter Scott or the Exeter Hallites. But let that pass. Mr. Walcott unfortunately does not condescend to give references for particular statements. Instead of that, three or four pages at the beginning of his volume are devoted to a general citation of authorities, a practice which is about as helpful to those who desire to check his accuracy as if he had said, "*Vide MSS. at British Museum, passim.*" By a fortunate accident, however, an examination, among other sources, of the index to the *British Archæological Journal* suggested a reference to the volume for 1846, where, in an article by J. H. Parker on *Thornton Abbey*, it was easy to recognize the source of Walcott's inspiration on the subject of Walter Multon.

All that is known upon this head may be given in very brief space indeed. William Stukeley, an archæologist of the eighteenth century, published in 1721 a work called *Itinerarium Curiosum*, the purpose of which is sufficiently described by its sub-title—"an account of the antiquities and remarkable curiosities in nature or art observed in travels thro' Great Britain." Passing in one of his journeys by Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire, he gives a rapid description of it. I quote the sentence which precedes and follows that which concerns our present subject, to show the casual nature of the reference.

"Along the ditch within the gate are spacious rooms and staircases of good stone and ribwork arches. Upon taking down an old wall there, they found a man with a candlestick, table and book, who was supposed to have been immured. When you enter the spacious court, a walk of trees conducts you to the ruins of the church."¹

Now this brief notice seems to be the only foundation of the story. Mr. Parker cites no other authority, as he

¹ Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 95. First Edit.

almost certainly would have done if he had found anything more satisfactory. A search made in county histories, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and archæological journals, has resulted in nothing further. So we are left for this fact to the casual remark of a traveller at the beginning of the eighteenth century who does not imply even that he believed the story, or saw the chamber, or knew how many years before his time the discovery may have been made. A candlestick, a table, and a book seem rather curious adjuncts for an immured man, and are certainly not provided for in Sir Walter Scott's plan of operations. Amongst the thousand and one accidents that might account for the discovery of a skeleton under such circumstances, the suggestion that the remains were those of an Elizabethan priest forgotten in a hiding-place would at least have something more to say for itself than the theory of the wiseacres of Thornton.

But Messrs. Parker and Walcott are not only satisfied about the immuring, but they know that the victim was Walter de Multon, Abbot of Thornton in 1443. It appears that the compiler of a MS. history of the Abbey¹ writing about the year 1525, says that he had been unable to find any record of the death or place of burial of this particular abbot. Whence Mr. Parker concludes: "It is almost impossible to doubt that this significant passage has allusion to the fate of Walter Multon, who expiated his unrecorded offences by suffering that dire punishment, which, we have reason to believe, the secret and irresponsible monastic tribunals of the middle ages occasionally inflicted upon their erring brethren."²

It ought to be mentioned perhaps that according to Mr. Parker an old tradition exists in the place of an abbot having been immured there,³ but we are not told by whom

¹ MS. Tanner, 166.

² *The Archæological Journal*, ii. p. 593. The "significance" of the passage is probably due to Mr. Parker's manner of translating it. He does not give the original Latin.

³ For the value of tradition in such matters see the story of the "bairns boäns" at Fountains Abbey, quoted by Mr. Peacock, p. 45. The bones in question, supposed by local tradition to be those of children put out of the way by the monks as soon as they were born, were examined by competent medical authority and pronounced to be pigs'!

the tradition was ascertained, nor given any reason to think that this is more than a confused popular recollection of the incident mentioned by Stukeley.¹

The other instance of an immured prisoner which Mr. Walcott cites with all the air of appealing to an ascertained fact as certain as the accession of Queen Victoria, is the case of "William," he means Walter, le Bachelor, whose supposed cell may still be visited in the Temple Church, London. His authority in this case would seem to have been the tolerably well-known work of Mr. Addison, published in 1842. However this may be, Mr. Addison's presentation of the facts is so dramatic that it would be a pity not to allow him to tell the story.

"This dreary place of solitary confinement is formed within the wall of the church, and is only four feet, six inches long, and two feet, six inches wide, so that it would be impossible for a grown man to lie down with any degree of comfort within it. Two small apertures or loopholes, four feet high and nine inches wide, have been pierced through the walls to admit light and air. One of these apertures looks eastward into the body of the church, towards the spot where stood the high altar, in order that the prisoner might see and hear the performance of Divine Service, and the other looks southward into the Round, facing the west entrance of the church. The hinges and catch of a door, firmly attached to the doorway of this dreary prison, still remain, and at the bottom of the staircase, is a stone recess

¹ In a recently published volume entitled *Bygone Lincolnshire*, by W. Andrews, we read: "The Abbot's house on the south is now occupied as a farm-house. In making the excavations was found a tomb inscribed, 'Roberti et Julia (*sic*) 1443,' and in a wall was found a skeleton with a table, a book, and a candlestick, supposed to be the remains of *Thomas de Gretham*, the fourteenth Abbot, who was immured (buried alive within a wall) for some crime or breach of monastic rule. The Annals of the Abbey are somewhat scanty, there being little known of its ecclesiastical or domestic history." (p. 146.) The author of the paper in which this passage occurs, Mr. Frederick Ross, F.R.H.S., in answer to my inquiries, has kindly informed me that he is indebted for this information to Timbs. (*Abbeys and Castles*, vol. i. p. 374.) This looks like an independent tradition; but further investigation reveals that it is nothing of the sort. Timbs simply copies somebody who copies Parker, and Mr. Ross has blundered in reproducing Timbs.

or cupboard, where bread and water were placed for the prisoner."¹

Mr. Addison then continues: "In this miserable cell were confined the refractory and disobedient brethren of the Temple, and those who were enjoined severe penance with solitary confinement. Its dark secrets have long since been buried in the silence of the tomb, but one sad tale of misery and horror connected with it has been brought to light.

"Several of the brethren of the Temple at London, who were examined before the Papal Inquisitors, tell us of the miserable death of Brother Walter le Bacheler, Knight, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, who, for disobedience to his superior, the Master of the Temple, was fettered and cast into prison, and there expired from the rigour and severity of his confinement. His dead body was taken out of the solitary cell in the Temple at morning's dawn, and was buried by Brother John de Stoke and Brother Radulph de Barton, in the middle of the court, between the church and the hall."

As Mr. Addison is good enough to tell us whence he has derived his information² we are able to satisfy ourselves that the facts here narrated are substantially accurate. Certainly the depositions of the Templars at their trial make it clear that Walter le Bacheler had been severely handled in prison (*et bene audivit quod aliquæ duritiæ fuerunt ipsi factæ* are the words of one witness³) and that he had been buried with somewhat suspicious secrecy. We may add from the same source⁴ that his imprisonment had lasted eight weeks, and that he had received the Sacrament of Penance and probably Holy Communion before death. But will the reader be surprised to hear that there is not a syllable to connect Walter le Bacheler with the cell in the tower? That he was not *walled up* there is in any case obvious, the fastenings of the door still remain, and the body was carried out to be buried. But the idea that this

¹ Addison, *The Temple Church*, p. 75.

² Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. ii. Examination of the Templars, pp. 337, 346, 377, 384.

³ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 346.

cell inside the church was ever used for the restraint of unwilling prisoners *in extremis* is a mere conjecture which has against it all the probabilities. Was it intended that the groans of the miserable victim should mingle, through two open apertures, with the praises of God chanted below? Was it likely that he would be confined where his cries would reach the ears of every casual visitor that entered the church? Were they so considerate of his spiritual welfare as to provide that he should have the altar and the ceremonies of Holy Mass constantly under his eyes? What may have been the true destination of this cell, with its commanding view both of the round and the rectangular area which make up the Temple Church, I cannot pretend to say for certain. It remains yet to be proved that it was meant for anything less innocent than a closet to keep brooms in. Possibly it might have been used by a voluntary recluse who was willing, in expiation of some crime, to undergo this unusually severe penance. The outlook upon the high altar is a feature which it has in common with the ordinary anchoret's cell, but of course its dimensions are much smaller than the *reclusoria* of which we have examples.¹ On the whole the probabilities are greatly in favour of the opinion of Father Morris, F.S.A., who was kind enough to accompany me in a visit to the Temple Church. He pronounces confidently that it is nothing but a watching-loft (*excubitorium*) from which one of the brethren unobserved could command the high altar, the round, and indeed the whole building. In the cases of churches with shrines such constructions, though often of much larger dimensions, are very common,² and there seems to be some ground for thinking that they were not confined to noted places of pilgrimage, but may have existed also in other churches where there was no shrine.³ In any case Mr. Addison has

¹ Perhaps we may except the cell of Edington Abbey Church, Wilts.

² They may be observed at St. Alban's, Westminster, Lichfield, Oxford, Worcester, and Canterbury. The same arrangement probably existed at Exeter and Lincoln.

³ Another possible explanation is suggested by a passage in Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, vol. viii. p. 4. "There may still be seen," he says, "in the church of Mas d'Azil (Ariège) a little cell formed in the thickness of the wall in which it was customary to

not a fragment of evidence or analogy to produce for his view, and yet he goes so far as to include in his book a sensational full-page engraving representing two Templars bringing down from this chamber the dead and half-naked body of their supposed victim.

At the same time it should be clearly understood that what chiefly calls for protest in this statement of Mr. Addison's, is not the charge of cruelty against the Templars, but the unscrupulous way in which a highly improbable conjecture is assumed as certain fact. That a prisoner should be so severely treated during his confinement that he survived but eight weeks is an incident for which probably every country in Europe as late as the seventeenth century could have furnished scores of parallels. A grave suspicion, we may readily admit, rests upon the Order of the Templars, that the terrible accusations which led to their suppression were not in all cases without foundation. If so, there could be no ground for surprise if a body of rough soldiers who had lost their religious spirit should occasionally have set the law of the Church at defiance in the cruelty exercised upon offenders against their statutes. But even in the case of the Templars there is no reason for taking such charges for granted without reasonable proof, and neither here, nor in the human remains discovered at Temple Brewer, can we say that anything like a clear case has been made out against them.

It will be sufficient here again to appeal to the Protestant authority already referred to. "In other vaults," writes Archdeacon Churton, "under some of these ruins there have been found heaped together in confusion the remains of bodies of old men and children, and some with broken skulls, as if they had died by violence. This is described particularly as the case at an old ruin of a house of the Templars. Is it not most probable that these may be the bones of persons slain in the Wars of the Roses, or the later civil wars, and thrown into these vaults, as a place

confine a lunatic. This tiny cell only received light and air from the interior of the church. Everything was there certainly that could be needed to turn a sane person into a madman, but whether it was with any hope of curing these unfortunate beings that they were thus mewed up (*chartrés*) is more than I can tell."

where they would be out of the way and none would interfere with them? The Templars were not accused by their worst enemies of making a kind of 'black hole' of any part of their premises. Nothing is more uncertain than a charge founded on the discovery of human bones in disused cemeteries and in unusual positions."¹

The passing allusion that has lately been made to anchorets and recluses, suggests the interesting question how far a confused oral tradition about these voluntary prisoners may not be responsible for the popular belief in the existence of walled-up nuns. People had certainly not forgotten this institution of pre-Reformation days in the time of Shakspeare. It is thus that the player-queen in *Hamlet* alludes to the practice :

To desperation turn my trust and hope,
An anchor's cheer in prison be my scope.

The life, no doubt, of these recluses was a severe one, and what Mr. Cutts calls "the popular idea that they inhabited a living grave,"² was occasionally, though rarely, to some extent justified.³ Bilney, the Reformer, in his *Reliques of Rome* (1563), has a long indictment of the "monastical sect of recluses and such as be shutte up within walls, there unto death continuall to remayne," and we may remark that an interesting verbal parallel to Dr. Rule's bugbear may be found in the phrase used of an anchoret in a note to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle: *Richardus Fraunceys inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus*—"Richard Francis enclosed between four walls for Christ's sake."⁴

We have no space here to discuss the question of recluses at any length, but it may be interesting to note the deep impression which the idea had evidently made upon the mediæval imagination. No book, perhaps, is more truly representative of the habit of mind of that epoch than the *Golden Legend*, and this is how we find the penance of "Thaysis" described in that collection of stories. I quote the translation of Caxton reproduced by Cutts. "She went to the place whiche th' abbot had assygned to her,

¹ Op. cit. p. 314.

² *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 121. ³ *Ibid.* p. 146.

⁴ Edit. Hearne, ii. 625.

and there was a monasterye of vyrgyns; and there he closed her in a celle and sealed the door with led. And the celle was lytyll and straye, and but one lytell wyndowe open, by whych was mynistred to her poor livinge; for the Abbot commanded that they shold give to her a lytell brede and water." The great number of recluses in England during the middle ages has never perhaps been properly estimated. There seem to have been as many as a dozen living in the city of Norwich alone, all in separate anchorholds. What is perhaps of importance in the present connection is that in some cases this enclosure was enjoined as a penance. The recluse remained a prisoner, but in this sense a voluntary prisoner that she was physically free to leave her cell if she chose. An instance is quoted by M. Viollet le Duc under the heading, *recluseoir*.

In a paper like the present it is almost inevitable that more hares should be started than it is possible to run down satisfactorily. Still there is one allusion which occurs in an extract given in an earlier page which I should be sorry to leave without some further comment, however brief. In the Rev. W. L. Holland's magic-lantern lecture on *Convents Romish and Anglican*, he tells his hearers, it may be remembered, that Dr. Grattan Guinness has "lately seen most perfect skeletons of walled-up nuns . . . in the old disused monasteries of Mexico." It would be interesting to have Dr. Grattan Guinness' own description before us, and with that object I have examined the list of the somewhat voluminous *opera omnia* of that reverend controversialist in the British Museum Catalogue, also the titles of the scarcely less voluminous works of Mrs. Grattan Guinness. However, none of these seem to promise anything about Mexico, and so I am forced to make at a venture a suggestion which may possibly account for this remarkable feature in Dr. Grattan Guinness' experiences.

It is a piece of information which seems to be tolerably familiar abroad, though it may possibly be new to some English readers, that the Capuchin Order in more southern climes have a peculiar custom as to the disposal of their dead. When a religious dies, the body is conveyed to a crypt or mortuary chapel under the church, and there, still clothed in the habit, is fixed upright in a sort of niche,

where it is carefully bricked up. A twelvemonth or so afterwards, generally before the feast of All Souls, the brick partition in front is removed, and the remains, of which by this time nothing is left but the skeleton, are exposed to view. The bones are draped in a new habit, and are then allowed to stand in the crypt side by side with many similar skeletons, where their religious brethren and the faithful come from time to time to pray for their souls. This somewhat ghastly spectacle¹ has been made the subject of a copy of verses by "C. C. G.," written, it appears, in 1830.² I reproduce the last three stanzas :

Amidst the mould'ring relics of the dead,
In shapes fantastic which the brethren rear,
Profaned by strangers' light unhallowed tread,
The monklike skeletons erect appear.

The cowl is drawn each ghastly skull around,
Each fleshless form arrayed in sable vest ;
About their hollow loins the cord is bound,
Like living Fathers of the Order drest.

And as the monk around this scene of gloom
The flickering lustre of his taper throws,
He says, "Such, stranger, is my destined tomb ;
Here, and with them, shall be my last repose."

Now it is not, I think, too much to assume that if Dr. Grattan Guinness had come upon a cemetery of this description, left probably *in statu quo* in some suppressed Capuchin convent in Mexico, the sight would certainly have presented in his eyes all the features of a horrible tragedy.

But if nuns were never walled-up alive, some reader may say, how is it that the story has come to be so widely believed? The limits of this pamphlet do not allow me to answer the question as fully as it deserves, although we have already glanced at some possible explanations. The etymological confusions of the word *immure*, the voluntary

¹ I understand that both in Malta, where the "baked monks," as they were irreverently termed by the English passengers of the P. and O. steamers, were accounted among the sights of the island, and in the Capuchin convents of Italy, the practice is now forbidden.

² Printed in *The Catholic Keepsake*, p. 80. Burns and Oates.

confinement of recluses, the manner of sepulture practised in some religious Orders, have all probably contributed something to the myth. But there remain many other causes to be taken into account. The upright interment of dead bodies is a practice not unknown even in England since the Reformation.¹ On the Continent burial alive was a common penalty for several classes of offences. More noteworthy still, a curious pagan superstition² survived for centuries in many countries of Europe that to secure the permanence of great structures—bridges, castles, or what not, it was necessary that the body of a child or a maiden should be built up into the foundations. In other cases doorways have been bricked up as the most convenient way of hiding the evidences of a tragedy.³ When such things come to light bigotry has always an explanation ready, and the unknown terrors of the cloister are invoked to account for every skeleton found in an old building in an unusual position. But even could such allegations be proved in individual instances, as assuredly they have never been proved, the fact remains that the whole spirit of monasticism is in flagrant contradiction to them. Sir Walter Scott describes his three judges as

All servants of Saint Benedict
The statutes of whose order strict
On iron table lay.

“It is a pity,” says the Protestant Archdeacon Churton, “that this man of genius had not first read these statutes and seen how totally inconsistent is the spirit and the letter of them with such a doom as he describes.”⁴ This is really the main issue, and I can find no more suitable words than these with which to conclude this essay.

¹ See instances quoted by Peacock, *l.c.* pp. 50, 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 49, and *The Academy*, July 31, 1886, p. 73.

³ The “secret chamber” of Glamis Castle is said to be a case in point.

⁴ Churton, *l.c.* p. 312.

The Huguenots.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LOUGHNAN, S.J.

OF all the accusations brought against the Catholic Church few tell more powerfully with Protestants than the charge of intolerance. There is no escape from the impeachment, for facts, so we are confidently told, are all against us. Catholicism is incompatible with a spirit of toleration. Intolerance is so distinctive a mark of our religion that we should cease to be Catholics on the day we ceased to be intolerant and to persecute; for, though we have ourselves seen very hard times, and may yet see harder still, we are essentially a persecuting race. We were jealous of science, so we condemned Galileo; enemies to freedom of conscience, so we persecuted the poor Huguenots and harried them out of France. Therefore is it that the two historical facts, the condemnation of Galileo by the Inquisition and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, have long been regarded with peculiar favour as weapons of offence by our enemies in the press and on the platform. Of the two I should have thought the latter better adapted for general use, as requiring less of theological and scientific knowledge in him who resorts to it, and as affording a wider field for the flourishes of rhetoric and declamation. The reason of the preference shown, in our times at any rate, for the Galileo controversy lies perhaps in the belief that the condemnation of Galileo goes to the root of Papal Infallibility; though for that matter no less an authority than the late Dean Stanley, when preaching at St. Andrew's, August 25, 1872, flattered himself that he had found quite as unanswerable an argument against this capital dogma of our faith in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Be this as it may, the Galileo controversy does certainly postulate a little scientific equipment in him who would engage

in it without risk of a serious fall ; whereas in the other purely historical question a very little lore can be made to go a very long way. A superficial familiarity with the innumerable anti-Catholic pamphlets which have appeared from time to time ever since the massacre, giving a false or garbled account of it, will furnish enough matter and to spare for a telling attack on the Catholic Church. In default of these there are the infidel Encyclopædists, with Voltaire at their head, to fall back upon, and Voltaire's tragedy of the *Henriade*, and the regicide Chénier's play of *Charles IX.*, and the libretto of Meyerbeer's popular opera of the *Huguenots*, with thrilling representations of wicked Cardinals and truculent friars blessing and distributing the poniards. Lastly, when everything else fails, abundance of material for piquant calumny and thrilling invective is always ready to hand in the files of our Protestant press. Where, for example, has the picture of Huguenot persecution at the hands of their Catholic fellow-countrymen been sketched more picturesquely, if a trifle more accurately, than in the following pathetic passage culled from a back number of a popular daily paper? "The most beautiful Protestant records perhaps," said the *Daily Telegraph* some years ago, "are to be found in the pathetic and awful annals of the Huguenots. France seemed about to become one of the most religious countries in the world. And then her rulers systematically tried to annihilate every particle of what was most sweet, noble, pure, devout, and manly amid the ranks of the people. They butchered the Huguenots, drowned them, burned them, banished them, sent them to the living death of the galleys. At least a million of the best men and women of France were thus driven into exile or murdered. In no other country in the world has the sword of persecution ever been let so wildly loose." The indictment against us, thus neatly put into a nutshell, has been endorsed, though in less sentimental terms, by one Dean of the Anglican Church, Dr. Kitchin, of Winchester, who, in an article contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, gravely informs his readers that "they (the Huguenots) have stood as much ill-usage as has befallen any branch of the Christian Church ;" while another Dean, the late Dean Stanley, in the sermon already referred to, as if to anticipate a possible protest from the Catholic side that at worst the crime was the crime of the civil power, in which the Church had no

hand, boldly asserts that it was committed with the "express approbation" of the Pope. In full accord with the learned Dean wrote the *Times*, arguing on the occasion of the tercentenary of the massacre just twenty years ago, that public opinion "will not bear to be told that an institution [the Church], with its chiefs, senate, advisers, and administrators can plot, plan, glorify, and reward the most horrible crimes ever committed, and yet be an infallible authority in faith and morals."

No, the Protestant tradition "will not bear to be told" what does not square with its pious belief about us, of which it is so tenacious that, as Cardinal Newman long ago observed, it "had rather we should be guilty than that it should be mistaken." It is, therefore, idle to expect to disabuse our Protestant friends all at once on this subject, but something will have been gained if we do no more than awaken them to the fact that there is a version of the story which, though it differs *toto cælo* from their own, has not a little to recommend it. I am going to try and give that other version, from which I venture to hope to show that the crime, as heartily execrated by Catholics as by Protestants, cannot in fairness be set down to the Catholic Church, which, so far from instigating or approving, has never ceased to deplore and condemn it.

But as it usually takes time to fan the passions of men into a blaze of hellish rage; as the orderly and peaceable are not commonly betrayed all in a moment into a wholesale slaughtering of their fellow-men; it will be necessary first to have some idea of the religious and political situation of France at the time of the catastrophe, to inform ourselves about the Huguenots, and ascertain, if possible, what it was that made them obnoxious to the ruling powers, and infuriated the populace against them.

Who, then, and what were the French Huguenots? Were they Protestants? Certainly, of a kind, but not of the kind we are familiar with: not the quiet, orderly, and inoffensive citizens their descendants, the members of the *Église Réformée*, have since become in France, and not at all like the Protestants, Anglican or Nonconformist, with whom we live in amity here in England. There is no resemblance at all between the Protestants of the nineteenth century and the Huguenots of the sixteenth. These last belong rather to the fanatical

Lollard and Puritan type. They were emphatically heretics—I speak especially of the earlier and worst period of the Huguenot movement in France, that, namely, which preceded and led up to the great massacre—heretics in the strict technical sense of the word, formal heretics, apostates from the faith in which they had been bred from childhood, and which they believed in their conscience to be the faith of Christ, but on whose loose principles and easy morals the creed of Calvin, which does away with human responsibility, bore less heavily than the uncompromising Catholic faith. More than this; the French Calvinists or Huguenots were not content to be heretics themselves; they sought by every means to draw the French nation after them in their apostasy, or rather to force an obnoxious creed on a reluctant people. Now if Calvinism was by its very nature calculated to be a grave danger to the civil and religious constitution of the State; if it was a principle of upheaval and disruption; if ascendancy was the object and freedom of conscience only a pretext with its votaries, fanatically bent on the total extirpation of Catholicism from the kingdom; if from first to last it was so pertinaciously aggressive as to leave nothing undone by plots, and surprises, and massacres, and impieties, and outrages of the most horrible description for the accomplishment of its unholy ends—however sincerely we may deplore and condemn, we can scarcely be astonished at the savage reprisals into which the Catholics, infuriated to madness by the excesses of their enemies, were often betrayed. Still less can we allow the claim of the Huguenots, with all the blood they have on their own hands, to pose in the face of the world as the innocent victims of unrighteous persecution.

When Calvinism, towards the close of the reign of Francis I., was first imported into France from Geneva—for it was of foreign, not native growth—the Catholic religion was then, as it had been for centuries, in quiet and undisputed possession of the land. French society was fundamentally Catholic. Catholicism was the very soul of the nation; laws, manners, and customs, the arts and sciences, in a word, the whole life of the nation, social, political, and domestic, bore the deep impress of Catholicism. The King was corrupt, the Court abominably so; but though there was much wickedness in high places, and a predisposition, therefore, in some quarters,

to take up with the loose and irreligious principles of the Reformation, the great mass of the people remained true to the old faith. When, therefore, the self-constituted apostles of a brand-new religion, refugees from the laws and renegades from the religion of their country, presented themselves and claimed, with a peremptoriness and persistence distinctively characteristic of Calvinism, freedom to preach and spread their novelties, the people and their rulers, taking the alarm, warned the innovators off the land, and set the law in motion against them. For in those days heresy in France, as in all Catholic countries, was as much a violation of the law of the land as murder or treason ; and the sovereign who permitted it to effect an entrance and establish itself in his kingdom, violated the constitution of his country and was false to the solemn oath he had taken at his coronation to maintain the Catholic faith and uphold religious unity in his dominions. The religious unity of France, dating from the time of the first French King, consecrated with the reverence and backed by the prescription of centuries, seemed to every Catholic the indispensable condition of national life. Indeed, both the contending parties looked upon the coexistence of two distinct forms of religious worship in the same country as an impossibility. The Catholic regarded the very contemplation of such a state of things as impious and treasonable, while the Huguenot was equally resolved, as we shall presently see, to secure not only toleration but ascendancy for his religious opinions. In resenting, therefore, and repelling the aggressive violence of Calvinism, the Catholic people of France were but acting in self-defence, standing up for the political constitution and religious faith of their country, and exercising a right which will be questioned by no fair-minded Protestant, who remembers that his fathers at the Reformation used more violence to establish a new religion in England, than the Catholics to preserve the old in France.

John Calvin, himself a Frenchman, and on account of his heretical opinions a refugee in Switzerland, is justly regarded as the father and founder of the French Huguenots. From his new home in Geneva he sent his emissaries into France, and was for years the life and soul of the civil and religious rebellion in France till his death in 1563. So much is admitted by the Protestant historian Ranke, who maintains however that Calvin,

so far from encouraging violence, recommended a prudent and forbearing zeal. This may have been so during the earlier period of the movement, when a premature resort to violent methods would have defeated the purpose of the wily Reformer; it certainly was not the policy adopted when once the new religionists deemed their strength and their numbers sufficient to enable them to refuse obedience to any law but their own. Gentleness and moderation have never in any country been characteristic of the new gospel according to Calvin, whose laws, as a Protestant biographer of the heresiarch has observed, were not written with blood, like those of the Athenian Draco, but burnt into the souls of the people with a red-hot iron.¹ In any case, it is certain that the Huguenots had thrown moderation to the winds long before the formal outbreak of civil war. Encouraged by the shuffling policy of Francis I., the innovators at last took heart, and in the year 1528 resorted to open violence and outrage. Roving bands of marauders traversed the land, insulting and maltreating priests, desecrating the churches, overturning the altars, disfiguring the images of the saints, and perpetrating in monastery and convent sacrilegious outrages too horrible to name. Libels of the foulest character, in which the holiest mysteries of the Catholic faith were derided and burlesqued; placards filled with the most revolting blasphemies against God, His Blessed Mother, and the saints were scattered about the streets, or posted up in public places, on the doors of the churches and on the very walls of the King's palace. So numerous were these publications that the year 1535 came to be known as "the year of placards." What Christian Government could be expected to overlook, or what Christian people long patiently to endure, outrages which thus wantonly and cruelly violated all that was most sacred in the eyes of the great majority of Frenchmen? The insolent bearing of the Huguenots at last provoked retaliation; Francis lost his temper and his head, laid violent hands on twenty-four of these placard-mongers, and had them publicly committed to the flames. From this event dates the commencement of what has been called the persecution of Protestantism in France.

No Catholic will feel himself under the necessity of defending the policy of severity thus inaugurated by a sovereign

¹ Paul Henry, *Calvin's Leben*, om. ii. p. 72.

who was the very reverse of a model Christian ruler. Religious principles had little or no influence on his shifty and tortuous policy. In moral character a not unworthy compeer of his brother of England, King Henry VIII., he scrupled not to employ any means, however mischievous, which he thought conducive to the attainment of his immediate ends. A patron of letters he favoured the humanists, with supreme indifference to the character and nature of their religious opinions. He allied himself with the Protestant powers, and with the unholy Turk himself, against Catholic sovereigns. He abetted the Reformation in Germany, and, in opposition to his coronation oath, took the preachers of the new creed under his protection in his own dominions. It was only when these men had grown strong enough to aim at the total subversion of the existing order of things in Church and State that, waking up all at once to the peril of the situation, and, passing from the extreme of indulgence to the extreme of severity, he abandoned the new gossellers to the punishments awarded to the heretic in those days by the law of every country in Europe.

By the common law of Europe heresy was a civil crime, and as Protestantism was heresy, and Calvinism, in particular, a specially aggressive form of Protestantism, the law was allowed to take its course. Neither Francis nor his son and successor, Henry II., would tolerate any leniency and forbearance on the part of the Bishops of the Church, who hoped by gentle treatment to win back the deluded people to the faith; and because acting in this spirit the ecclesiastical courts inflicted on offenders only lesser canonical penances, their authority was taken from them and handed over to the civil tribunals. The fact is worth noticing. The Church, according to her wont, inclined to the more humane and gentle methods, so much so that in all these turbulent times the French clergy erred, if they erred at all, invariably on the side of mercy. It was the State, then, and not the Church, that put the terrors of the law in force and converted it into a purely political engine for the coercion of the enemies of both Church and State; it was the civil, and not the ecclesiastical power, which committed the Huguenots to the flames with every circumstance of barbarity calculated to strike fear into their adherents, and which carried on the ruthless policy with more or less of severity for the remaining years of the reign of Francis I. and

throughout that of his successor, Henry II., who, like his father, whilst encouraging the rebellion of heresy in Germany and in England, sought to stamp it out in his own dominions by all the rigour that the laws allowed him.

But, however much we may deplore this severity as excessive, and even cruel, we are bound to confess that it is not wholly without excuse. It is all very well to talk in our own wiser and more humane days of the folly and enormity of punishing men and even putting them to death for their religious opinions. Protestantism was not a mere set of religious or irreligious opinions, it was in truth sedition and rebellion; it was an aggressive revolutionary power that sought to destroy the constitution of every State in which it raised its head, with an insolence, an audacity, and a pertinacity it is not easy to characterize. The suppression of the new opinions came therefore to be regarded as a matter of self-preservation. To the Catholics of those times there appeared but one alternative, the alternative of putting down the enemies of their religion or of being themselves put down. If they turned their eyes to foreign countries, where Protestantism had gained the ascendancy, to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, or nearer home to Germany, Switzerland, and our own England, they beheld their brethren in the faith everywhere ruthlessly persecuted, and a hateful tyranny established on the ruins of the old Catholic liberties. The picture was not an encouraging one, and it is therefore not wonderful that the Catholics of France, viewing with alarm the first violent efforts of a party never very careful to disguise its intention of uprooting the national religion, should have sought to strike terror into their assailants, under the persuasion, rightly or wrongly, that nothing short of extreme measures could save their country from the evils of Protestantism.

"There is no middle course in dealing with religious sectaries," says Hallam, speaking of Elizabeth's hard usage of the Puritans, "between the persecution that exterminates, and the toleration that satisfies. They were wise in their generation, the Loaisas and Valdes of Spain, who kindled the fires of the Inquisition, and quenched the rising spirit of Protestantism in the blood of a Seso and Cazalla."¹ But the toleration that would have satisfied the Huguenot was not the toleration

¹ *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. c. iv. p. 276.

that stops short of giving him absolute ascendancy. The principle of toleration was not recognized by either of the two contending parties, least of all by the Protestants, who began to talk of toleration and the rights of conscience only when they found it necessary for their own peace and comfort; so long as they thought to have things all their own way they persecuted without mercy. "Persecution," says Hallam again, "is the deadly original sin of the reformed Churches; that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive."¹ There is at any rate nothing to show that if the Huguenots had not begun the attack with riot, outrage, and sacrilege, they would have excited the fury of the population to anything like the same extent, or that, if they who did not form one hundredth part of the population,² could have been satisfied with anything short of the extirpation of the religion of the great majority of the French people, they would have failed to secure a very fair measure of tolerance for their own worship. Even as it was, and so early in the conflict as January, 1562, a royal edict, the first of a series of similar concessions, had suspended the execution of the penal laws and granted to the Calvinists ample liberty to worship God in their own way. Unfortunately, the Huguenots, as Mr. Buckle remarks of them, "were not content to exercise their own religion, unless they could also trouble the religion of others,"³ and the minds of men were besides too fiercely exasperated by mutual injuries to listen just then to the voice of moderation. The edict had come too late. Collisions between the rival factions continued as before, and so both parties settled down doggedly to the struggle, that was to deluge France with the blood of her own sons, and to last, with varying intensity and brief intervals of pacification, down to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

So long, therefore, as Protestant was busy murdering Catholic, and Catholic Protestant, we must expect to find intolerance rampant on both sides. Nevertheless, there is no lack of impartial evidence to show that whilst the intolerance of the Calvinist remained implacable, and even grew in imperiousness, that of the Catholic, on the contrary, gradually

¹ *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 130.

² Castelnau, iv. c. 2.

³ *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i. c. viii. p. 509.

gave place to a very liberal toleration. Writers as little likely to be suspected of undue partiality to the Catholic cause as M. Henri Martin in his *Histoire de France*, and Mr. Buckle in the work already referred to, are both of opinion, that if a balance of toleration is to be struck between the two contending parties it will be found to incline on the whole to the Catholic side. "Whoever has read the great Calvinist divines," says the last-named writer, "and above all, whoever has studied their history, must know that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the desire of persecuting their enemies burnt as hotly among them, as it did among any of the Catholics even in the worst days of Papal dominion. This is a mere fact, of which any one may satisfy himself by consulting the original documents of those times. And even now, there is more superstition, more bigotry, and less of the charity of real religion among the lower order of Scotch Protestants, than there is among the lower order of French Catholics."¹ And again: "The French Protestants, who affected to appeal to the right of private judgment, were more intolerant of the exercise of that judgment by their adversaries than were the Catholics."² And yet again: "Whatever may be the popular notion respecting the necessary intolerance of the Catholics, it is an indisputable fact that, early in the seventeenth century, they displayed in France a spirit of forbearance and Christian charity, to which the Protestants could make no pretence."³ Once more: "If at this juncture"—the author is speaking of the beginning of the seventeenth century, but his words hold good of any other period of the struggle—"If at this juncture the Protestants had carried the day, the loss to France would have been immense, perhaps irreparable. For no one who is acquainted with the temper and character of the French Calvinists can doubt that, if they had obtained possession of the Government, they would have revived those religious persecutions which, so far as their power extended, they had always attempted to enforce."⁴

The fact then is remarkable that, whilst with the progress of the struggle the Catholics came to tolerate the obnoxious creed of their adversaries, the bigotry of the latter on the contrary seemed only to fatten on concession, and to

¹ *History of Civilization*, vol. i. c. viii. p. 505.

³ *Ib.* p. 518.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 520.

² *Ib.* p. 506.

show itself more pertinaciously turbulent precisely when the growing toleration of the Catholics not only allowed them the free exercise of their religion, but even advanced many of them to offices of trust and honour in the State.¹ The famous Edict of Nantes (1598) had granted the Huguenots the fullest freedom for the exercise of their religion, together with other privileges, such as Elizabeth never dreamed of conceding to her unfortunate Catholic and Puritan subjects, whom she hunted out of the kingdom or hanged and disembowelled. For all this the Protestants were not even yet satisfied. It was not toleration so much as ascendancy they aimed at, and the total suppression of the Catholic faith. Every fresh concession was but the prelude to fresh and more insolent demands. They called, therefore, on the Government to interdict or limit the celebration of Catholic rites and ceremonies, and in particular to forbid Catholic processions in any town, place, or castle occupied by Protestants,² and when the Government demurred, they took the law into their own hands. In towns like La Rochelle,³ which for importance was the second city in the kingdom, and where they reigned with uncontrolled authority, they would not permit the Catholics to have even a single church in which to celebrate the rites of a religion which had been for centuries the sole religion of France and was still that of an immense majority of Frenchmen.⁴

¹ *History of Civilization*, pp. 449, 508, 511.

² Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 39.

³ This strongly-fortified maritime town with its population of daring seamen and enterprising shipowners, was the chief port whence the Huguenots sent forth a cloud of corsairs, to whom the English ports were always open, and who ransacked every Catholic ship that came in their way. See Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 332. "Les Rochelois," he says euphemistically, "ne respectaient pas toujours les pavillons amis;" a delicate circumlocution unknown to Mézeray, who says (*Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 426): "Et les Rochelois, qui par le moyen du commerce et de la *piraterie*," &c. One of the most notorious of these pirates was Jacques Sourie, who sailed the seas under a commission of piracy from the Huguenot Queen of Navarre. It was this worthy who, sailing from Dieppe, intercepted the Portuguese vessel which was carrying Father Ignatius Azevedo and his thirty-nine brother missionaries of the Society of Jesus to the Brazils, and put them all to a cruel death, July 15, 1570. They were beatified by Pius IX., May 11, 1854. These forty missionaries were the first detachment of a body of seventy; the remaining thirty were captured and slaughtered by another Calvinist pirate, Capdeville, in September of the following year. (See Crétineau-Joly, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. ii. c. iii. pp. 139—145.)

⁴ Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 342.

To close this part of our subject. Enough evidence has perhaps been produced to establish the fact that the vital point at issue in these deplorable feuds, was the question whether France was to be allowed to worship God by the light of the Catholic faith, as in olden times, or be forced to accept the gloomy creed of a despotic sect which, while professing to champion the rights of private judgment, acted consistently from first to last in a manner calculated to render the exercise of those rights impossible to all but themselves, and who construed civil and religious liberty to mean unbridled licence for all who agreed with them, and but scant toleration for those who had the misfortune to differ from them. So that, reading the story of the terrible religious strife which tore France asunder for a century and a half by the light of this fact, and taking into account the provoking self-sufficiency, the pertinacious aggressiveness, the ruthless violence by which the Huguenots sought to build up their Calvinism on the ruins of the Catholic faith, we cease to be surprised that "murder begot murder," and that the Catholics, being after all but men, with the feelings and passions of men, retaliated upon their enemies and paid them back, sometimes with compound interest, in their own coin of treachery and bloodshed.

But the indictment against the Huguenots has not even yet been all stated. They were not merely religious fanatics, they were rebels and traitors to boot.

The religion of Calvin, so at any rate thought Voltaire, tends naturally to the establishment of republicanism, and an historian of the sixteenth century, writing of the *estat huguenot*, describes it as a republic tempered by the aristocratic element, a republic living within the bosom of the monarchy and labouring for its overthrow, since the two forms of government being incompatible, neither could hope to exist except on the ruins of its rival.¹ Duplessis Mornay, another writer of the sixteenth century, speaking of the possibility of combining the errors of heresy with the qualities of a good citizen, stated what was then considered by the majority of men an incredible paradox, *Que ce n'estoit pas incompatible d'estre bon huguenot et bon François tout ensemble.*² "The old reproach," says Dr. Kitchin, in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "that

¹ *Mémoires de Saulx-Tavannes*. Collection Michaud, c. vii. p. 309.

² Duplessis, *Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 146.

the Huguenots are all republicans, has at last (that is, under the Third Republic) turned to their credit. They form a group of loyal citizens on whom French politicians now look with favour." The celebrated lawyer Dumoulin broke with the Huguenots, on the ground that their ministers, mostly foreigners drawing their inspiration from Geneva, were imbued with seditious principles which incited to contempt of the law, and shook the loyalty of the King's lieges.¹ As Calvin, in his *Commentary on David*, taught that the king who does not place his power at the service of the Reformation has no further claim to the obedience of his subjects, it is not surprising to find his emissaries in France stirring up everywhere a spirit of discontent, disloyalty, and rebellion.² General assemblies of the Huguenots were convened more than once at Nîmes and in other towns for the formation and establishment of a republican *régime*, in which the whole of France was mapped out into districts to be governed by leaders responsible to the general assembly of La Rochelle.³ The seditious arrogance of these synods went the length of forbidding the Crown to acknowledge the Council of Trent, and of even quarrelling with the King's choice of a Spanish princess for his wife.⁴ The Parliament of Paris alone passed more than a hundred decrees to control the rebellious spirit of these sectaries who, as Mosheim, a Protestant writer, confesses, had contrived, in spite of every difficulty, to set up an *imperium in imperio*, and to the violence of whose chiefs he ascribes the war of 1621.⁵ There can, therefore, be little doubt that if Protestantism had prevailed in France it would have overturned the monarchy, since wherever it was successful it at once established itself in the form of a tyrannical theocracy of the republican type.⁶

But what more than all else made the Huguenot movement so formidable was the marvellous organization of the sectaries. The conspiracy against Church and State had grown, long before the actual outbreak of hostilities, into a vast secret society embracing well-nigh the whole of France in the meshes

¹ *Mémoires de Condé*. ² Trignon, *Hist. de France*, c. iii. p. 271.

³ Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. ix. p. 411, &c. ; Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

⁴ Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124 ; Bazin, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. i. pp. 364, &c.

⁵ *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238.

⁶ Capefigue, *La Réforme et la Ligue*, p. 474.

of its widespread net. It was recruited from every rank of society. The noble and the rich joined it to supplant their rivals, the middle classes to enrich themselves, chiefly at the expense of the Church, and the lower orders cajoled or coerced by the preachers of the new opinions. In every province of the kingdom it had long been busy undermining the authority of the King's officers—whenever these last did not happen to be members of the sect—levying men and money, sweeping the tithes and other Church revenues into the Huguenot coffers, commissioning officers, from the highest to the lowest grades, to command their troops, selecting their banners, fortifying cities, and filling their arsenals with the munitions of war.¹ In a word, the preparations for a rising were kept in so advanced a state, that when in 1562, and again in 1567, the storm burst and the Huguenots sprang to their feet in open rebellion, the writers of those times in telling the story have, as Ranke remarks, to travel back to the wars of Mithridates to find an exact parallel to the Huguenot outbreak for secrecy of design and rapidity of execution.²

But there is a heavier charge than even that of rebellion to be made against the French Huguenots. They were not only rebels in arms against their lawful sovereign; they were moreover traitors, ready and keen to barter away the honour of their country to its hereditary foes. If to the possession of brilliant soldierly qualities, Condé and Coligny had added in reality all the extraordinary merits ascribed to them by the partiality of Protestant writers, their claims to the homage of mankind would be more than cancelled by their shameful and shameless treason to King and country. Finding after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, that without foreign help their prospects of success in the war they were levying against their King were of the dimmest, Condé, Coligny, and his brother d'Andelot, instigated and encouraged by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton,³ who had long laboured to stir up rebellion in

¹ *Essai sur les événements qui ont précédé et amené la Saint-Barthélemy*, p. 19. Thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de Strasbourg, par J. J. Fauriel.

² *Civil Wars, &c.*, vol. i. p. 343. (Translation, Garvey.)

³ If Queen Catherine of Medicis, whose conscience was not more delicate than that of Elizabeth herself, had taken and hanged this gentleman to the highest lamp-post in Paris, the punishment would not have been much severer than his base conduct merited. Anyhow Elizabeth would scarcely have been in a position to resent the rough treatment of her ambassador, for we find her acting very summarily with foreign envoys delated to her for similar malpractices. The

the kingdom to which he was accredited, applied to Queen Elizabeth for pecuniary and military aid in the war they were waging against their King. Accordingly we find that after protracted negotiations a treaty was at length formally concluded between the Queen of England, the ally of Charles IX., on the one side, and the Prince of Condé, a subject in arms against his sovereign on the other, by which Elizabeth undertook to advance the sum of one hundred thousand crowns and to land an army of six thousand men on the coast of Normandy, whilst the Huguenot chiefs were to surrender into her hands Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre-de-Grâce, to be detained by her as security not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais with the adjoining territories to the English.¹ The Prince himself was perfectly alive to the serious risks to which his treasonable conduct exposed him, as is proved by the promise of succour he extracted from the Queen of England, in case "he and the Admiral of France should be taken prisoners and their lives be in danger because they permitted her to enter Newhaven (Havre-de-Grâce)."² His own followers even came to look upon Condé as a traitor to his country. Men could not help contrasting his conduct with that of the Duke of Guise. It was the chief glory of the latter to have expelled the English from the last stronghold they possessed in France, and had held for upwards of two hundred years, as it will be the enduring infamy of his opponent to have recalled that enemy, and to have basely handed over to him

case of the Bishop of Ross is a case in point. He was "resident" of the Queen of Scots at the Court of Elizabeth. When seized and committed to the Tower for alleged secret intrigues, and in particular for fomenting a rebellion against Elizabeth, he invoked the privileges of an ambassador to extricate him from the difficulty. But Burleigh answered him: "That neither the privileges of an ambassage, nor letters of publick warrantise could protect ambassadors that offended against the publick majesty of a prince, but were liable to punishment." To which Ross retorted by expressing a hope, that "they would not show him fouler play than the English Ambassador Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found, who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them, and yet suffered no greater punishment than the being commanded to depart within such a time." (See the *Harleian Miscellany*, or, Collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining Pamphlets, &c., vol. i. pp. 405-408.)

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 309, 310. See also Articles of Agreement between the Queen and Condé in the Calendar of State Papers (*Foreign*), September 20, 1562, n. 663.

² State Papers, September 20, 1562, n. 666.

two of the most important sea-ports of the kingdom in exchange for the one he had lost.

But I have anticipated a little. There had been treason nearer home two years before these underhand dealings with the English. The first overt act in the strife that was to drench France with the blood of her own sons, was a treasonable attempt, known in history as the Conspiracy of Amboise, probably hatched at Geneva under the eye of Calvin himself and certainly countenanced by the Queen of England,¹ to seize upon the person of the King, Francis II., and place the government of France in the hands of the Huguenot leaders. The plot was, however, defeated by the promptitude of the Duke of Guise. La Renaudie, a reckless, roving soldier of fortune, who to screen his chiefs in the event of failure had consented to play the dangerous part of leader of the insurgents, perished in the conflict, and great numbers of the conspirators were taken and summarily executed. The failure of this attempt against the King broke the project of the Huguenot chiefs, to whom the origin of the conspiracy was clearly traced and who were only saved from punishment by the unexpected death of Francis II. in this same year, 1560, and the advent to power of the Queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, appointed regent during the minority of her next son Charles IX., a boy of ten, who immediately summoned to her side Condé and the other Huguenot chiefs, in the hope of thus neutralizing the ascendancy of the house of Guise.²

It was not the least of the misfortunes of France that her destinies fell, at this crisis of her history, into the hands of this unscrupulous woman and her sickly brood of vicious boy-kings. Her policy was a game of see-saw, favouring now the Catholic and now the Protestant party, but allowing neither to preponderate, that between the two she might continue to rule supreme. The Huguenots, therefore, who were given the first turn of royal favour, were quick to avail themselves of the opportunity. The years 1560-61 were accordingly fruitful in turbulence and outrage. The Huguenot preachers everywhere stirred up the people to rebellion; they exhorted their brethren in the provinces to make themselves masters of the fortified towns, and drew up petitions full of exorbitant

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 287, 288.

² *Ibid.* pp. 308, seq.

demands, which Coligny urged upon the Government with the significant words, that he was in a position to back them with an armed force of 150,000 men. The city of Nîmes was kept all through the year 1561 in a state of continual panic by the frequent raids of armed bands of Huguenots who, with the connivance of the magistrates, broke into the churches, desecrated the shrines, expelled the monks and nuns from monastery and convent, and committed everywhere the most appalling profanations.¹ Similar scenes were enacted at Montauban, Castres, and Montpellier, in which last place two hundred Catholics were massacred in cold blood. A month before the affair at Vassy, about which I shall have a word to say presently, Languet, himself a Huguenot and the historian of his party, boasted in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, that the *idols* were all broken, and that not a priest dared show his head in Gascony, in Lower Languedoc, and in Provence as far as the Pyrenees, for a circuit of forty leagues.² And all this, be it remembered, in time of peace and at the very moment when, as this same Languet confesses in another of his letters, the Catholics were making strenuous efforts to promote a better understanding with their opponents.

Matters were now ready for an explosion. Non-Catholic writers, French and English, attribute the formal outbreak of the first civil war to an affray, commonly called by them the Massacre of Vassy, which occurred March 1st, 1562, and in which about sixty of the Huguenots were killed by the followers of the Duke of Guise. But against this contention we urge, first, that to the Huguenots, bent upon war, but without a colourable pretext for beginning it, the accident was a godsend; secondly, that there is good reason for believing the affray to have been provoked by the Huguenots themselves; thirdly, the dying declaration of the Duke of Guise, preserved by Brantôme, who was present both at Vassy and at the Duke's death, to the effect that the affray was in nowise premeditated, and that, when he would have put an end to it, his conciliatory words were met by the Protestants with a shower of stones, which so exasperated his men that they could no longer be controlled;³ fourthly, that the affray happened on the 1st of

¹ Ménard, *Hist. de la ville de Nîmes*, liv. xiv. passim.

² *Lettres de Languet*, passim.

³ *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. xix. pp. 309, seq.

March, and yet the Calvinists had begun to arm at Nîmes on the 19th of February, and were in the field and had defeated De Flassans by the 6th of March, only five days after the massacre.¹ It is clear, then, that the massacre at Vassy was not the cause, but at most the occasion of the war, its lame excuse, the electric spark that kindled the highly inflammable material which the Huguenots had themselves for long years been industriously collecting to set the country ablaze with the flames of civil strife.

It would be going beyond the limits of this paper to tell in detail the story of the war which now broke out in every province of the kingdom. It will be enough for our purpose to point out that the contest, from its commencement to its close two years before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, is made up of three distinct periods or separate civil wars, followed by as many abortive attempts at a permanent pacification; that the Catholics came out victorious from each of these wars by winning the pitched battles of Dreux in 1563, of Saint-Denis in 1567, and of Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569: that, most remarkable of all, perhaps, as showing that the Catholics were not unwilling to live and let live, after each of these wars terms were granted to the Huguenots nearly as favourable—a full amnesty, that is to say, for the past and ample freedom of conscience for the future—as they could have obtained if they had been the victorious instead of the defeated party; and that the latter, as usual, showed their appreciation of these mercies by hatching fresh plots, and conspiring once again (September, 1567) to surprise the Court and carry off the person of the King at Meaux. There are, however, just two points requiring a word of notice before we conclude. I refer to the murder of the Duke of Guise, and the vandalism and cruelties of the Huguenots; because non-Catholic writers have a way of forgetting or ignoring these details, to concentrate the attention of their readers on the one great crime of the Catholics on St. Bartholomew's day in 1572, to the exclusion of matters which, nevertheless, have a considerable bearing on that deplorable event.

¹ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 310. See also, on the subject of the affray at Vassy, Daniel, *Hist. de France*, t. x. p. 167; Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, t. i. p. 150; H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 114; Ranke, *Civil Wars*, &c., pp. 310—312; La Popelinière, vol. iv. p. 283; De Thou, t. iv. p. 169.

Early in March, 1563, whilst Coligny was giving Normandy, in lieu of pay, to the plunder of his German mercenaries, and the Royalists besieging Orleans were hourly anticipating its fall, their distinguished leader, the Duke of Guise, was assassinated by one Poltrot, a deserter from the Huguenot army in the pay of Coligny. What hand, if any, had the latter in this foul murder? The question is very much to our purpose, for from the hour of the Duke's murder down to his own, ten years later, at the hands of the murdered man's son and successor, Coligny never succeeded in quite clearing himself from the suspicion that he had taken an active part in the assassination of his great rival. If the Admiral had been in truth the model of integrity his apologists and the imagination of poets¹ have laboured to make of him; if to military qualities he undoubtedly possessed he had added the virtues he as undoubtedly did not possess; if, in short, instead of a rebel and a traitor he had been a very Bayard, without fear and without reproach, his high character alone would have formed a sufficient refutation of the hateful accusation. Most Protestant historians, therefore, believing no doubt sincerely in his personal probity, but who shut their eyes to his manifold acts of rebellion and treason, exonerate him from the charge.² Others, however, who cannot so easily get over the fact that he was in plain language an apostate from the faith, a rebel, and a traitor, long animated by jealousy, on both private and public grounds, of the great Duke, with whom he had once been united by the ties of the closest friendship, will perhaps be pardoned if they call for something more convincing than doubtful testimonials to character, before dismissing the suspicion altogether from their minds.

Now there is no lack of evidence which, if not conclusive of Coligny's participation in the murder, is quite strong enough to justify the gravest suspicion of his guilt. In the first place his mind, if we may take the word of a couple of French historians by no means unfavourable to the Admiral and his cause, was so clouded by fanaticism that he held the pestilent doctrine of the lawfulness of tyrannicide.³ Anyhow, his own

¹ See Voltaire's *Henriade*.

² Ranke inclines to the belief that Coligny had a guilty knowledge of the murder, if he did not actively connive at it. (*Civil Wars*, &c. vol. i. pp. 324, 325.)

³ Trognon, *Hist. de France*, tom. iii. pp. 280, 281; H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 154.

contemporaries seem to have thought him quite capable of the crime. Margaret of Valois never had a doubt of it,¹ and, *teste* Davila,² public opinion at once pointed to Coligny and Beza as having both had a hand in the murder. But setting these testimonies aside, we have some important avowals of the Admiral himself. In the Calendar of our own State Papers are to be seen two somewhat laboured apologies "of the Admiral of France for his purgation from the death of the Duke of Guise," written within a few days of the murder, and showing, therefore, amongst other things, how quickly suspicion had pointed its finger at the great Huguenot chief.³ The substance of these statements bears out Lingard's opinion that if "Coligny did not instigate the assassin, he knew of, and connived at, the intended assassination."⁴ For we have his own admission; first, that he gave the murderer Poltrot one hundred crowns to buy himself a horse for his journey to Orleans; secondly, that, when he availed himself of the services of this man as a spy on the movements of Guise, he knew that the varlet had long premeditated and publicly vaunted his design of killing the Duke; thirdly, that "when Poltrot told him he would be glad to kill the Duke of Guise, he (Coligny) never answered one word to say it would be well or evil done, and as little did he believe it could or would be done;" and fourthly, that he was animated by the fiercest animosity against the Duke, since he declares, in a very different spirit from that which animated the Duke of Wellington towards Napoleon on the field of Waterloo, that "Guise was the man of all others the Admiral sought most to meet with at the last battle, and that if he could have planted a cannon against him to slay him, he would have done it, and if he had had ten thousand arquebuisers at his command he would have commanded them to have shot at him before any other, had it been in a field, over a wall, or behind a hedge. In short, he would have spared none of these ways (which by law of arms are permitted in time of hostility) to rid himself of such an enemy as he was to him and many others of the

¹ *Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois*. Lud. Lalenne (1858), p. 28.

² *Hist. &c.* p. 195.

³ Calendar of State Papers (*Foreign*) *Elizabeth*, March 19, 1563, nn. 476—478.

⁴ Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 320. See note, in which the reader is referred to Petitot's *Collection*, xxxiii. 281.

King's good subjects." He ends by protesting his innocence before God and His angels, and by inviting "any that would be more certain to come and speak with him and he will answer them." He, nevertheless, steadily refused to allow his case to be tried by any of the Parliaments of France, alleging that "he desired to satisfy only those who make a profession of arms, for he knows that such a case happening in time of war is not subject to be purged by way of justice;" finally, he screened himself, as a last resource, behind the general amnesty accorded by the Edict of Pacification at the end of the war—a mode of defence on a par, it will perhaps be thought, with the insolvent debtor's declaration of bankruptcy. Years after, it is true, he was formally acquitted by the King's Council; but the court was then packed with the Admiral's adherents, and the act by which the murdered man's family acquiesced in the verdict was manifestly dictated by policy rather than by a sincere belief in its justice. They remembered and avenged the crime on the terrible day of St. Bartholomew. In fine, whether Coligny was an accomplice or not in the foul murder of his rival, those who read his two apologies will probably share the opinion of the Admiral's friends, when they expressed a wish "that he had either held his tongue or defended himself to better purpose."¹

This necessarily meagre sketch would be still more incomplete if it passed over in silence, as non-Catholics often do, the many massacres and acts of vandalism perpetrated by the Huguenots in the ten short years of these three civil wars. Though none of these massacres equal in the number of the slain the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, they have generally a character of greater wantonness, of more inhuman cruelty and deliberate malice. Orleans, Le Mans, Troyes, Tours, Bayeux, Angers, Bourges, Rouen, Macon, La Rochelle, Grenoble, Poitiers, and many other towns, signalized their zeal for Calvin by scenes of indescribable horror, in which churches were spoiled, altars desecrated, the relics of the saints thrown to

¹ Pasquier, liv. iv. p. 108. Though the depositions of the Duke's murderer, Poltrot, can scarcely be admitted as evidence against Coligny, inasmuch as he varied a good deal in his statements, it is nevertheless noteworthy that, when brought face to face with death in the hour of his execution, he made three separate and distinct declarations to the effect that he had been instigated by the Admiral to kill the Duke of Guise *pour le service de Dieu*. (See Bossuet, *Variations*, l. x. c. 55.)

the winds, monks driven out of their convents, religious women outraged, and priests banished, hanged, or thrown headlong into wells or pits, and all this, be it remembered, by men who fought, so they said, only for freedom of conscience.¹ Lyons, which the Huguenots had vainly endeavoured to surprise in 1561, was betrayed into their hands a year later by its Governor, the Count de Sault, and fell a prey to the fury of the infamous Baron des Adrets, whose name figures constantly in our State Papers as being in treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his country, who delighted in the slaughter of priests, who hurled his victims for an after-dinner sport from the battlements on to the pikes of his soldiers below, and forced his Catholic prisoners to attend the *prêche*, "because," as he said with a profanity worthy of Cromwell, "it has pleased God to drive out every species of idolatry."²

One more example of Huguenot fanaticism. The outbreak of the second civil war was marked by a fiendish massacre committed at Nîmes on Michaelmas day, 1567, which is consequently known in France as the *Michelade*. Though studiously lost sight of by non-Catholic writers,³ this is one of the most inhuman of many Huguenot atrocities, perpetrated without the excuse of sudden excitement, but at the instigation and with the approval of their Calvinistic preachers and synods. In reading the story one rubs one's eyes to make sure that one has not stumbled by mistake on an account of the September massacres executed by the Jacobins of Paris two centuries later, so identical are the two stories in all their revolting details. There is the same cold-blooded deliberateness on the part of the murderers, the same absence of provocation or resistance on that of the victims. From the Hôtel de Ville, in which numbers of them had been previously secured, they were led out one by one, their throats cut, and their bodies cast into a deep well. This part of the butchery lasted for two hours by torchlight, and dawn of day found the assassins busy searching every house in the town, whence they dragged the

¹ Languet, *Lettres*, passim; Martin, *Hist.* tom. ix.; Lavallée, *Hist.* tom. i. &c.

² *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon*, par Cl. De Rubys (1640); also for details of excesses committed at Lyons, see *Discours des premières troubles advenus à Lyon*, par Gabriel de Saconay (an eye-witness), Lyons, 1569.

³ Anquetil, Lavallée, and Ranke are silent on the point; H. Martin dismisses the subject in a note of two lines.

Catholics, and without giving them time to say a last prayer, pitilessly shot or cut them down. In the number of victims, which reaches a total of one hundred and fifty, or according to others, of three hundred, was the Vicar-General of the diocese, who was first brutally paraded through the streets and exposed to the insults of the infuriated Huguenots, then cruelly murdered and precipitated into the well where the corpses of the other victims were already weltering.¹

But it was not to man alone that the fanaticism of the Huguenots showed itself implacable; it vented its rage also on inanimate stone, on images and monuments, and churches and cathedrals, and on the sacred vessels of Catholic worship, doing more in a few years or months than the fury of the elements or the wear of time in centuries, to destroy the fairy-like productions of Christian art. This frenzy of demolition set in with the outbreak of the first civil war in 1562. With a sudden impulse, as if in obedience to a preconcerted signal, the Huguenot rebels burst, like demons of destruction, over the whole length and breadth of the land. The crowbar, the hammer, and the axe were plied with unflagging fury. Neither delicate tracery, nor richly-tinted window, nor the tombs of kings or heroes or saints found grace in their eyes. The elaborate workmanship of centuries perished in a day. No such havoc had been wrought in beautiful France since the days of the destroying Albigeois. The loss, moreover, inflicted on learning by these impious and illiterate fanatics is incalculable, and in too many instances irreparable, for their fell passage through the land is everywhere marked by the destruction of the ancient monasteries, together with the precious libraries and accumulated treasures of manuscripts they contained;² so that when Charles IX. traversed France in 1564, he had to pick his way through a scene of ruin and desolation which recalled to mind the vandalism of the fifth and sixth centuries.³

¹ Mesnard, *Histoire de Nîmes*, tom. v. p. 16; also D. Vaissette, *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tom. v. p. 298; Fauriel, loc. cit.

² See Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 231—233.

³ See on this subject of the Vandalism of the Huguenots, Rubys, loc. cit.; *Archives du Rhone* (1828); Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. x. p. 309; *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, tom. ii. pp. 67—73; *Lettres de Lauguet*, passim. Cf. also Picot, *Essai Hist. sur l'influence de la religion en France pendant le 17ième Siècle*.

What wonder if such a storm of sacrilege and violence awoke in the breasts of the Catholic people a corresponding rage for blood, and excited a fierce spirit of retaliation, which reached its height in the appalling Massacre of St. Bartholomew. With the story of that terrible deed of blood I hope to deal in another paper.

In the meantime, to sum up what has been said in this, when it is borne in mind that Calvinism in France, as everywhere else, was a political far more even than a religious movement, inciting to rebellion against Church and State alike; that the Huguenots were persistent in their efforts by all means, by secret treachery and open force, to uproot the Catholic faith and overturn the monarchy; that they twice conspired to seize the person of the King, thrice raised aloft the standard of rebellion, and though defeated in four pitched battles obstinately plotted on, always pardoned and always relapsing; that they publicly rejoiced in their conventicles over the murder by one of their number of the noble Duke of Guise,¹ deservedly popular with the French nation for his defence of Metz against Charles V. and his rescue of Calais out of the power of the English; that they entered into treasonable bargains with the inveterate and hereditary foe of their country, and delivered over to him two of its principal towns, the very keys of the kingdom, in pledge for a third; that in the first transports of uncontrolled "freedom of conscience" they overran whole provinces, destroying churches, invading monasteries, murdering priests, butchering unarmed men and women in thousands, sacking and burning towns and villages literally by hundreds;—when these facts are borne in mind, there is surely no man so blindly prejudiced but will, whilst still execrating as heartily as we ourselves execrate, the retaliatory excesses of the Catholics, at least cease to regard the Huguenots as the helpless victims of an unprovoked and unmerited persecution.

¹ See Ranke, *Civil Wars*, vol. i. p. 219. "Even in the churches (Calvinistic)," he writes, "the act was spoken of as a righteous judgment of God."

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